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A
D I S S E R T A T I O N
CONCERNING THE
W A R O F T R O Y,
AND THE
EXPEDITION OF THE GRECIANS,
AS DESCRIBED BY HOMER;
SHEWING

THAT NO SUCH EXPEDITION WAS EVER UNDERTAKEN, AND THAT NO SUCH CITY
OF PHRYGIA EXISTED.

BY JACOB BRYANT.

Μη προς δοξαν ορα, εθελων σοφος αηψα γενεσθαι.

Μηδε φοβε πολλων ακριβον και αναιδεα θυμον.

Ου γαρ πληθος εχει συνετην κρισιν, εδε δικαιαν,

Ουτε καλην· ολιγοις δε παρ' ανδρασι τετο κεν ευροις.

Cleanthes Stoicus, apud Clement. Alexand. L. 5. p. 655.

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P R E F A C E.

AS I am likely to encounter much prejudice from the novelty of my notions, it may not be improper to say something concerning this Affection of the mind; and to shew its fatal bias, when opposed to true judgment. It arises from pleasing habits, and connexions; and sometimes from selfish views of convenience, or advantage, which beget in us a blind partiality. It consists in a wrong attachment to any object; which attachment is unduly maintained without a proper appeal to reason, or a regard for truth. And though we might expect, that this wrong propensity would be as easily rectified, as any other mistake; yet upon experience we find it quite otherwise: and opinions deeply rooted are very difficult to be removed. Notions, which we have imbibed in our childhood, and which have been recommended by those, whom we honour, and esteem, pass as it were into our very system; in succum et sanguinem abeunt, and have the force of a second nature. The evil by these means becomes inveterate; and scarcely any alternative can prevail. Hence the brightest minds have oftentimes their predilections; and cannot by any means be weaned from a wrong, but favourite opinion. Few have the fortitude to say with the Hero of Homer..

----- δὸς δ' ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἰδεσθαι

Εὐ δὲ φάει καὶ ὀλεσθόν. -----

Dispel the cloud, and kill me in broad day.

A 2

We

P. 66. For Proteus, v. Palamedes. see Photius. p. 483.

We are in general unwilling to be brought from habitual darkness into sudden light. For however pleasing in the end, it is often found in the beginning painful. We cannot submit, though Wisdom it's self makes an offer to remove all dimness from our understanding; and to give us a power to distinguish.

Αχλυν δ' αὖ τοι ἀπ' ὀφθαλμῶν ἔλω, ἢ πρὶν εἶπεν,
Ὅφρ' εὖ γινώσκῃς τὰ ψευδῆ, καὶ τοδ' ἀληθές.

It may seem extraordinary, yet it often happens, that when people become convinced of the falseness of a system, the last error, which they give up, is that which they should have first rejected. The excellent Cranmer, when at the Reformation he changed his religious opinions, still retained for some time a bias for that particular article, which was thought to be the most exceptionable. This was the last thorn, which was plucked from his side, and which should have dropped of itself. It ought to have come forth like the barbed arrow from the Hero in the Æneis——

Jamque secuta manum, nullo cogente, sagitta
Excidit, atque novæ rediere in pristina vires.

Dion Chrysostom has a passage very much to this purpose. ' You must know, says that Author, that Truth has in it something distastfull, and unpleasing to persons of little understanding: to whom fiction and fable seem agreeable and amusing. Just, I imagine, as when people have a disorder in their eyes; who find the light hurts them, when they look at it: while darkness is not at all painful; but on the contrary acceptable, by preventing all power of vision. Otherwise, how could falsities have

ἰ Το μὲν γὰρ ἀληθές πικρὸν ἐστὶ, καὶ ἀγρὸς τοῖς ἀνοήτοις. Το δὲ ψεῦδες γλυκὺ, καὶ πρῶτον. Ὅσπερ γὰρ οἶμαι, καὶ τοῖς νοσῶσι τὰ ὀφθαλμοὶ το μὲν φῶς αἰσῶν ὄραν· τοδὲ σκοτὸς αλγῶν καὶ φίλον, καὶ εὖ βλεπῶν. Ἡ πῶς ἀν ἰσχυρὸν τὰ ψεῦδη πολλακίς, οὕτων ἀληθῶν, εἰ μὴ δι' ἡδονὴν εἶναι. χαλεπὸν δὲ, ὡς εἶπεν, εὖ τὴ διδασκῶν, χαλεπώτερον τὸ μεταδιδασκῶν. ἀλλῶς τε, ὅταν πολὺ τινα χρόνον ὥσι τὰ ψεῦδη ἀκηκῶντες, καὶ μὴ μόνοι αὐτοὶ ἐξαπατημένοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ πατέρες αὐτῶν, καὶ οἱ παπποὶ, καὶ σχεδὸν πάντες οἱ πρότερον. Οὐ γὰρ ῥαδίον ἐστὶ τούτων ἀφελεσθῆαι τὴν δόξαν, οὐδ' εἰ πάντες ἐξελεγχῇ. Dion. Chrysost. Orat. XL. p. 151.

such

such a superior influence in opposition to existing truths; were it not from their being too acceptable to the human mind? If it be hard, as I said before, to teach, it is still far more difficult to teach anew; and to erase any former impression: especially when persons have been accustomed to any figment. When they have not only been for a long time in a state of deception themselves; but their fathers also, and their grandfathers, and almost all who have gone before them, have been equally deceived. For it is not easy to remove their prejudices, though conviction stares them in the face. *Cicero accordingly is very severe upon those, who blindly maintain error in opposition to Truth.* ¹ *Quid tam temerarium, tamque indignum sapientis gravitate, atque constantiâ, quam aut falsum sentire; aut, quod non satis explore perceptum sit et cognitum, sine ullâ dubitatione defendere? This is salutary admonition: yet it does not in general prevail: for which the same great Orator gives the following reason.—*
² *Sed, nescio quomodo, plerique errare malunt, eamque sententiam, quam adamaverint, pugnacissime defendere, quam sine pertinaciâ, quid constantissime dicatur, exquirere.*

These precautions I thought proper to take, as I have reason to think, that I shall have much opposition to encounter. Some persons have without reserve intimated, that they do not wish to be disabused. Others have been alarmed; and suspected, that much mischief may ensue from the detection of errors of so long standing. For they say, to what can we trust, if we are to give up histories so universally believed, and admitted through all ages? But the detection of errors can never be attended with any bad consequence. Besides, some of the most respectable Writers of antiquity, who were the most early, and, as will be shewn, the best judges, did not admit the history; but denounced it to be abso-

¹ Cicero de Nat. Deor. L. 1. C. 1. P. 1204. Gronov.

² Academ. Quæst. L. 4. P. 1064.

lutely a Fable. Hence we shall find, that it was by no means universally believed, and particularly in the first ages; whatever blind credit may have been in later times afforded.

And here, I hope, it will be considered, that whatever I may say about the truth of the history, the work itself will not be in the least affected. The character of the Poet, and the beauty of the Poem will still remain unimpeached. Their excellence can never be diminished.

Some have thought that my opinion concerning the War of Troy was a late fancy, and lightly taken up. But it is by no means so. I believe that I am the first of the Moderns, who have thus ventured to entertain these doubts. And these commenced long ago: for it is above thirty years, since the groundwork of this Dissertation was first laid. This some time afterwards was dilated, and disposed after the manner in which it now appears. Many of the Versions, particularly those from Homer, were of later date. And here let it be observed, that though I pull down, it is my intention likewise to build up: and I shall endeavour to afford some curious lights in respect both to the Poet, and the history, which possibly may not have been observed before. Come on then, Gentle Reader—*Dum veteres avias tibi de pulmone revello.*

A D I S-

A
D I S S E R T A T I O N
CONCERNING THE
T R O J A N W A R, &c.

Concerning the Excellence of HOMER, and of his precision.

ALL the ancient Writers, who have treated of Homer, speak of him, as the most excellent of Poets. And whoever at this day is blest with a true taste, and acquainted with his writings, must allow him the same pre-eminence. Ὅμηρος δὲ καὶ μέσος, καὶ ὑστάτος, καὶ πρῶτος, παντὶ παιδί, καὶ ἀνδρὶ, καὶ γερωνί, τοσούτον ἀφ' αὐτοῦ διδῶς, ὅσον ἕκαστος δύναται λαβεῖν. *Homer is the medium, the ultimate, and the principal, from whom every youth, every person of maturity, and every man of years may have his portion: as he affords at all times matter sufficient for every man according to his capacity to borrow.* Dion Chrysost. περὶ λόγου ἀσκήσεως. Orat XVIII. p. 255. Other Poets shine with a borrowed light; He only with native, and intrinsic lustre. His poem is founded upon the History of a long,
and

and interesting war: which is supposed to have been carried on by the Powers of Greece for ten years. Towards the expiration of this period they took the City of Troy, and regained the prize, for which they had been so long contending. In the description of this siege, and the great events, with which it was attended, the Poet is very particular and precise. The situation of the City is pointed out, as well as the Camp of the Grecians. The Scæan gate likewise, and the Beech-tree near it, and the *Epiveos*, or Wild-figtree, the beautiful Hill Callicolone, the tomb of Ilus, and Bateeia, together with the course and fords of the river, are distinctly marked: so that the very Landscape presents itself to the eye of the Reader. Hence the whole seems to be attended with the greatest appearance of truth. The Poet also in many parts of this work introduces incidentally several past events, as well known—*in medias res non secus ac notas auditorem rapit*. He alludes to the arrival of the Ethiopians, and the death of Memnon: also to the death of Antilochus by that Hero. He speaks also of Pyrrhus, as succeeding to his father Achilles and displaying his hereditary valour. Lastly he makes mention of the Chieftains, who were inclosed in the Machine, by which Troy was taken. All these casual references seem to have been portions of a traditional history well known in the time of Homer. And as they are introduced almost undesignedly, they are generally attended with a great semblance of truth. For such incidental and partial intimations are seldom to be found in romance and fable.

But notwithstanding all these favourable appearances, the account of the Trojan War, as delivered to us by Homer, and other Grecian Writers, is attended with so many instances of inconsistency, and so many contradictions, that it is an insult to reason to afford it any credit. If I may deliver my sentiments without disguise, I do not believe, that Helena of Sparta was ever carried away by Paris: and consequently, that no such

such armament ever took place, as we find described by the Poet: and that Troy in Phrygia was never besieged. Indeed I am confident, that it never existed.

These notions may create to me some ill will, for though the alternative may be quite innocent: and it matters little, which side a person takes: yet I go contrary to the popular opinion, which has had the uniform sanction of many ages. This is by no means pleasing to those, who think themselves better informed: and have espoused from the days of their childhood the contrary notion. I venture however to assert again, that there is no truth in the history of the Trojan War: or if there were any original foundation for such an history, it was borrowed from another quarter, and adapted to the nation, where it is now found: but to which it did not originally belong. I adhere firmly to Varro's ¹ assertion, that the Greeks had no certain intelligence before the Olympiads. Now the War of Troy is placed some centuries before that æra. Justin Martyr therefore in treating of the vain pretensions of the Greeks, tells them——² Ἀλλως τε ἔδε τὸτο ὑμᾶς ἀγνοεῖν προσήκει, ὅτε ἔθεν Ἕλλησι πρὸ τῶν Ὀλυμπιάδων ἀκριβὲς ἰστορηταί· ἔδε ἐστὶ τι συγγραμμά παλαιόν Ἑλλήνων ἢ βαρβάρων σημαίνον πρᾶξιν. *Beside, you ought to be well apprised, that the Grecians have no history, upon which they can depend, antecedent to the Olympiads. They have no written evidence of any antiquity, relating either to themselves or other nations.*

¹ Censorinus. C. 21. p. 111.

² Just. Mart. Cohort. p. 16.

Observations upon the grounds of the War.

To know what credit the History may deserve, let us consider the chief cause of the War; and the grounds upon which it was carried on. It was undertaken, we are told, upon the account of Helena, the wife of Menelaus, King of Sparta. He had entertained a Phrygian Prince, named Paris: who seduced his wife, and carried her away to his own Country, the capital of which was Troy. This Helena is said to have been the daughter of Leda, the wife of Tyndarus, whom Jupiter deceived in the shape of a swan. In consequence of this her daughter was said to have been hatched from an egg: and when she arrived at years of maturity, she became the admiration of the world for her beauty. Paris was the son of Priam, and of Hecuba; who dreamed, when she was with child of him, that she should be delivered of a torch. This was thought to portend evil to her Country: upon which the child after it's birth was exposed to the wild beasts upon Mount Ida. But some of the Mountaineers found him, and brought him up, and he became a Shepherd. In this occupation, upon account of his great ¹ justice, and love of truth, he was chosen arbitrator between three Goddeffes, who were contending about superiority in beauty. The prize was a golden apple, which he adjudged in favour of Venus. She promised, in return for his just judgment, that he should have the most handsome woman in the world. Soon after, when he had made himself known to his father, and the rest of his family, he built a fleet of ships, and sailed to Greece; where this peerless beauty Helena resided. He was courteously received at Sparta by Menelaus: and in return this man of Justice abused the confidence of his host, and ran away with his ² wife.

This

¹ Hic cum adolevisset magnam sibi justiciæ, et æquitatis, gloriâ comparavit. Natalis Comes. Mythog. L. 6. p. 349.

² It will not I hope, be thought amiss, if I take this opportunity to correct a mistake of the learned Meursius; who in his comment upon Lycophron, p. 46.—says, that the judgment of Paris is never mentioned.

This may be esteemed the proëme to the War of Troy. We are here brought—*vestibulum ante ipsum*: and we stand—*ipso in limine*. And what can we say? Even that which the man in Terence said to a person, whose veracity he suspected—*Fabulam inceptat*. For let any body judge, if there be a circumstance in Lucian's True History, or in the Metamorphoses of Apuleius, which has not as good pretensions to be believed. The whole is a figment, and every step, that we take, is upon fairy ground. *Pergula pictorum, veri nihil, omnia ficta*.

Some would palliate part of this narration by supposing, that Helena was said to have been produced from an egg, because she resided, or was born, in an apartment called the *ὑπερῶν*. But what authority have we for this? What ancient Author has given us any account of the room either of her birth, or residence? Besides, if her first entrance into life had been in such an apartment, yet what was there so particular in this circumstance as to give rise to the notion of her being produced from an Egg? Were there not *ωα*, and *ὑπερῶα*, in every province of ¹ Greece? Why were not other persons said to have been hatched in the same manner; as the circumstance must have been common to thousands? Add to this, that the explanation above does not suffice for the whole difficulty. It does not account for the appearance of Jupiter, as a swan, any more than

mentioned by Homer.—*Apud Homerum Judicii Paridis nusquam mentio: quod observavit Macrobius. This is certainly affirmed by that Author—Nullam commemorationem de judicio Paridis Homerus admittit. L. 5. C. 16. P. 350. But he was mistaken, and has misled Meursius. The history occurs in Homer in these words,——*

——— ἀπηχθετο Ἰλιος ἱρή,
Και Πριάμος, και λαος Ἀλεξάνδρῃ ἐνὲκ' αὐτῆς.
Ὅς νείκεσσε Θέας, ὅτε οἱ μισσαυλὶν ἴκοντο,
Τὴν δ' ἦν ἡς, ἣ οἱ πορὶ μαχλοσυνὴν αἰγιόειν.

Iliad. L. II. v. 27, &c.

¹ They are to be found in Aristophanes, Plutarch, and others.

² They are mentioned by Homer, as being common in his time, and in different places—such as Ithaca, Thessaly, and Locris. See Ilias B. v. 514. II. 184.—Odys. Σ, v. 31.

for his representing at another time a Bull. These solutions, and palliatives can never remedy the evil, which is inveterate; and affects the whole system of Grecian Mythology. And after all this interpretation is fundamentally wrong: for it is manifest, that Helena was said to have been produced from an egg, not on account of the room, where she was nursed; but from the bird, in whose shape her father was said to have been concealed.—*Gemino ab ovo dicit (Poeta) respiciens ad Cygnum. Scholiast. in Horatii Art. Poeticam.*

Farther Observations upon the War, and upon the antecedent Armament.

When Helena had been thus carried away, Tyndarus, her reputed father, sent notice of this outrage to all the States of Greece: not only to those in his vicinity, and in the Peloponnesus; but to those, who were far removed. Among these were the Bœotians, Locrians, Magnetians, Ætolians, and the Thesprotians of Dodona. These are all said to have antecedently entered into an alliance to revenge any wrong done to the husband of Helena, whenever she should be married. The people also of Samos, Rhodes, and Crete, and of other islands, far and near, joined the grand Confederacy, and contributed their portion of men, and shipping. Deputations were sent as far as Thrace. They were ten years in the preparation for this great work: ¹ at the conclusion of which they had got together 1200 Ships; and an army by estimation of more than an hundred thousand men. The general place of rendezvous was at the seaport Aulis in Bœotia. Here they were detained for some time by contrary winds through the ill will of Diana: because Agamemnon

¹ Concerning the æra of this War, and the antecedent Confederacy,—see Euripides—Iphigenia in Aulis.—v. 49. &c. &c.

in hunting had killed an hind, that was her favourite. At last Agamemnon was persuaded by the prophet Calchas to sacrifice his Daughter Iphianassa, the same as Iphigenia, that the anger of Diana might be appeased. The task of bringing her for this purpose was delegated to Ulysses, and Diomedes: who deceived her mother Clytemnestra, and brought her to the camp. She was in consequence of it sacrificed; or as some say, the Goddess substituted a female deer in her room: and carried her to be her priestess in the Tauric Chersonesus.

This part of the history will be found upon inquiry to be as incredible, as the former. The loss of his wife, who seems to have left him voluntarily, was a private misfortune, in which Menelaus was only concerned. It is not to be believed, that so many unconnected States, should think it their business to engage in a quarrel, with which they were not concerned. Achilles is made to confess as much—

Οὐ γὰρ ἐγὼ Τρωῶν ἔνεκ' ἡλυθὼν αἰχμητῶν
 Δεῦρο μάχης ὄμενος, ἐπεὶ ὅτι μοι αἰτιοὶ εἰσιν.
 Οὐ γὰρ πώποτ' ἐμας βῆς ἤλασαν, ὅδε μὲν ἵππους,
 Οὐδὲ ποτ' ἐν Φθίῃ ἐριβώλακι κυδιανειρή
 Καρπὸν ἐδήλησαντ', ἐπεὶ μάλα πολλὰ μεταξὺ
 Οὐρεὰ τε σκιοεντα, θάλασσα τε ἤχησσα. A. 150.

I came not hither to engage in warfare on account of any injuries from the Trojans: for they never aggrieved me. They robbed me not of any herds; nor carried away my horses: nor did they damage the corn and fruits of my land. Between us is a vast barrier of towering mountains; and a boisterous sea intervenes, so as to preclude all access. He therefore gives another reason for his engaging in the war: and says, that it was intirely out of regard to Agamemnon, and Menelaus.

-----'αμ' ἐσπομεθ', ὅφρα σὺ χαιρῆς,
 Τιμὴν ἀρνυμένοι Μενελάῳ, σοὶ τε, κύνωπα,
 Πρὸς Τρωῶν-----ibid. v. 158.

Homer acted artfully in obviating this objection. But the misfortune is, that it remains in full force in respect to the other States; especially to those at a great distance: none of whom had received the least injury: and to whom the name of Troy could not well have been known. For in those times there was little correspondence carried on between nation and nation: and though the Poet makes a grand display of the many cities of Greece, which entered into this alliance; yet such an union could not have been formed. For why should people engage, who were not aggrieved. The region of Hellas abounded with many petty Kingdoms, which were very limited in extent: and had little intercourse with their neighbours: much less with those, who were farther removed. Between those, which were near, there was perpetual warfare, on account of cattle and sheep, which they were mutually invading, and driving away. They engaged not in distant expeditions; nor did they pass the seas. Their views were confined to those in their vicinity; whom they either plundered or were plundered by them—Βῆσιν ἐπ' εἰλιποδῆσσι, καὶ ἀργεννῆς οἴεσσι. IL. Z. v. 423. Their marches were of a few miles: and their inroads of short duration. To these feuds and inroads the poet often alludes: and in the shield of Achilles he gives a description of an invasion made by the people of one City upon the cattle of another, as being characteristic of the times. The Shepherds think themselves secure but the enemy takes them by surprize.

Οἱ μὲν τὰ προΐδοντες ἐπεδράμον, ὡκα δ' ἐπεῖτα
 Ταμνοντ' ἀμφὶ βῶν ἀγέλας, καὶ πῶσα καλὰ
 Ἀργεννῶν οἴων, κτείνοντ' ἐπὶ μῆλοβοτῆρας. Σ. 527.

At the discovery they rushed on, and hewed down and slaughtered both the herds and flocks, and slew the people who tended them.

The free booters are in their turn attacked by the true owners of the herds; and a fierce conflict ensues.

Εν δ' ἐρις, ἐν δὲ κυδοῖμος ὁμίλεον, ἐν δ' ὅλη κῆρ.

Then were seen Discord and tumult and fell destiny in conjunction.

A like description is given by Milton in a visionary scene of events to come, which were displayed by the Angel before the eyes of Adam.

One way a band select from forage drives
An herd of beeves, fair Oxen, and fair Kine,
From a fat meadow-ground; or fleecy flocks,
Ewes and their bleating lambs, across the plain,
Their booty: scarce with life the Shepherds fly:
But call in aid; which makes a bloody fray.
With cruel tournament the squadrons join.
Where Cattle pastured late, now scattered lies
With carcases and arms th' ensanguin'd field.

Nestor mentions, that he plundered his neighbours, the Eleans, of their cattle to a great amount: and slew many of the people, who came in their defence. The battle was severe: but the people of Pylos gained the victory, and carried off a rich booty.

Πεντηκοντα βῶων ἀγέλας, τόσα πῶεα οἶων,
Τόσσα συῶν συβοῖα, τὸς' αἰπολῖα πλατὲ' αἰγῶν,
Ἴππες δὲ ξανθὰς ἑκατὸν καὶ πεντηκοντα,
Πάσας θηλείας, πολλῆσι δὲ πῶλοι ὕπησαν, IL. Λ. v. 677.

Fifty herds of kine: fifty flocks of sheep: as many rout of swine: as many drove of goats: with one hundred and fifty Mares of a fine bay colour; many of which had foals at their udder.

All these, he says, were brought before his Father Neleus, who was wonderfully delighted with so much unexpected plunder. In the time of Theseus (if any credit may be given to those very early histories) Greece abounded

abounded with a rude and savage ¹ race of men, who lived by robbery, so that there was no travelling with safety. Pirithous first got acquainted with Theseus by driving away his flocks and herds. They met each other afterwards with a disposition to fight: but a compromise took place, and they became everlasting friends. In these rude and turbulent times Helena first lived: for she is said to have been stolen away from Sparta by these very persons, as she was sacrificing in the Temple of Diana Orthia, and carried by force to Athens. She was at that time a ² woman grown: for her brothers, who were precisely of the same age, pursued ³ Theseus in order to recover her. It is farther said, that she became with ⁴ child by Theseus.

It seems strange, that so many Cities and States should combine to regain her, when she went away voluntarily: and that not a single hamlet should rise in her favour, when she was carried away by force, and in violation of the Goddess, whom she served. It may be said, that some part of this history is a fiction. In truth the whole is a fable; and inconsistent throughout from the beginning to the conclusion.

The farther improbability of this History.

Thucydides, however sagacious and a lover of truth, could not set aside the history of the Trojan War. For the glory of Greece was thereby

¹ Plutarch. Theseus, p. 3. Thucydides. L. 1. C. 2. P. 2.

² I mention this, because some have conceived, she was not above seven years old. Πρωτος Θησους ἡπταετη ταυτην ἡρασαν. Tzetres on Lycophron. v. 143.

³ Hyginus. Fab. LXXIX. p. 152—3. See Plutarch's Life of Theseus.

⁴ Pausanias. L. 2. p. 162. It is mentioned, that she was afterwards brought to bed of a daughter in consequence of this rape. Her daughter's name was Iphis. Some say, that she had twins.

Ιφης ———— ἕνεκα δὲ μιν Ιφί βίσησάμενη Ἑλὴν ὑπεγαίνατο Θησει. See Scaliger Observat. in Euseb. Chron. p. 49.

greatly

greatly enhanced: and it afforded a powerful sanction to the religion of the Country. He however produces very strong evidence, that it never took place. He ¹ says, that before this event (πρὸ των Τρωικων) there had been nothing done in common: that the natives of Greece were not yet comprised under one name, Hellenes; but lived separate, and independent; and in an uncertain and flux state. For the roving ² Pelasgi drove those, who were in any degree settled, before them: so that there was no security. In consequence of it there was no traffick, and little correspondence between the several districts. They did not venture to lay up any thing for future use—¹ ἀδελον ον, ὅποτε τις ἐπελθων, καὶ ἀτειχισων ἅμα οντων, ἄλλος ἀφαιρησεται. *It being uncertain, how soon some foreign body of men might come upon them in their defenceless state, and carry all away.* Hence he very justly judges of the weakness, and independance of the several little States, before this war, from their never cooperating in any enterprize—² Ουδεν πρὸ των τρωικων δι' ἀσθενειαν καὶ ἀμιξιαν ἀλληλων ἀβροοι ἐπραξαν. *Before the æra of Troy there was nothing done by the Grecians collectively by reason of their debility and want of union.* He might have added, that they were equally disunited for ages afterwards: and performed nothing in common, on account of the same weakness, and want of correspondence.

How comes it then, that just at this crisis there should have been such unanimity between the most distant States: and that they should all without exception join together to recover a runaway woman; with whom none but the husband was concerned. Instead of a gang of rough banditti a set of Heroes present themselves, such as the world never before saw. And an army of an hundred thousand men are collected by those states, who six or seven hundred years afterwards did not assemble above ten thousand against the Persians at Marathon. Nay, when the

¹ Thucyd. p. 3.

² ibid. p. 5.

liberties of all the Grecian States were in the utmost danger, Leonidas was sent with scarcely seven thousand men to defend the pass at Thermopylæ. Of these the greater part retired: and he maintained himself for some time with only a few hundred. And so little did unanimity prevail at this critical season, that many states, such as Argolis, Thessaly, Phocis, Bæotia, were either covertly, or openly friends to the enemy. And even among the other states there was little unanimity, though the cause was general, and all at stake. At the time, of which we are speaking, Greece entertained the highest notions of liberty: and abounded both with wealth, and men. Yet so small were her armaments: and her Councils thus divided. At the battle of Plataea their army was much larger: but still, if we exclude the Helots, or Lacedæmonian slaves, it will be found to have amounted to no more than 72500 men: as we learn from Herodotus. (L. ix. p. 706.) But the army under Agamemnon exceeded an hundred thousand.

Concerning the Ships mentioned.

The number of Ships in the catalogue of the Poet is equally incredible: for they amount according to Homer to 1186. Whereas the Ships at Artemisium, where was the first struggle for the liberties of Greece against the Persians, were only—271, with six or seven Pentecontores, or ships, of fifty oars. Soon after at Salamis there appear to have been, with the ships of the Islanders, collectively three hundred and seventy eight, with a few open vessels of fifty oars. It is true, that the principal ships were triremes, and of a large size. But still, if we take the quota of men, those under Agamemnon will be found greatly to exceed. We are told by Herodotus, that at the invasion of the Persians, Clinias, the son of Alcibiades built a Trireme at his own cost; and as it is intimated he fitted it out in a ample manner. The complement of this ship in men

L. 8. C. 17. P. 627.

was

was two hundred. Now if we multiply the Ships at Aretmifium, which were 271, by 200, the amount is only 54200: which falls very short of those, who were in the fleet of Agamemnon. But the disparity will appear much more clearly, if omitting the other Provinces, we state the number of ships sent out from Corinth, and the Cities of the Peloponnesus, both to Artemifium, and to Salamis in the Persian War. And then state those, which were fitted out from the same places to Troy.

Now there went

To ¹ Artemifium		To ² Salamis	
From Lacedæmon	10	From Lacedæmon	16
Sicyon	12	Sicyon	15
Epidaurus	8	Epidaurus	10
Træzen	5	Træzen	5
Corinth	40	Corinth	40
		Hermione	3
Total	75	Total	89

If we multiply 75 by 200 it gives—15000. And if multiply 89 by the same, we shall have 17800. These will be nearly the numbers of the Peloponnesians in each engagement. If we add six or seven hundred more for the Pentecontores, the whole will be about 18600, or 19000 men. This is the greatest ³ number of persons from those states, in either of those memorable seafights. Now the ships from the same part of the world mentioned by ⁴ Homer, are as follow.

¹ Ibid. L. 8. C. 1. P. 620.

² Ibid. L. 8. C. 43. P. 638.

³ In this estimate I have allowed to the Grecian Ships, in the Persian war, the full complement of two hundred men to each. But this is probably too great a concession, and the numbers may have fallen far short of this computation.

⁴ Iliad. B. v. 494. &c.

Argolis	} 80	Lacedæmon and neigh-	} 60
Hermione		bouring Towns	
Træzen		Pylos	90
Mycene	} 100	Arcadians	60
Corinth		Elis	40
Sicyon, &c.			
		Total	430

It is to be observed, that the Poet, when he gives an account of the Bœotians, and their neighbours, who stand first in the List, mentions, that each of their Ships held an hundred and twenty men. Afterwards he speaks of the Ships, which belonged to Philoctetes: of these the complement was only fifty men. Some of the Commentators have taken these two numbers for the extremes; and suppose, that one ship with another had at a medium eighty five men. If then we multiply 430, the number of Peloponnesian ships under Agamemnon, by 85 (the number of men at an average in each ship) there will be found to have been 36350, men. Whereas there were at Artemisium but 15000: and at Salamis, 18600, or 19000. The disparity is apparent. If then the Peloponnesians in general, at their matured state, and in the height of their power, and grandeur, when they abounded with every requisite, brought together no more, than has been above mentioned: how can we suppose, that such numbers could have been produced in those times of misrule; and in the infancy of those States, when many of them were hardly constituted? Of these one of the chief was Attica, the capital of which was Athens. This became in time the most noble and powerful of them all. We are told, that it was so named by Theseus; in whose time Helena was born. He out of several scattered, and independent, hamlets, formed this City; and united the people by a general community. Plutarch. Theseus. p. 10. He then divided them into classes, and appointed rites, and particular laws,

to keep them cemented. By these means they were brought off from their national rudeness; and became humanized by degrees. Such in the time of Theseus was the infant state of Athens, which could hardly at the time supposed, in the days of Helena, have afforded ' fifty ships, and 4250 men. The same may be presumed concerning the Cities of Ætolia and Epirus: and even of the principal Provinces of Greece. They had no call for such a contribution; and if there had been a demand, they could not have answered it. The pretended cause of this general commotion was the elopement of a woman from her husband: or call her a Princess, and Queen of Sparta; still this could not affect the people of Elis and Epidaurus, much less those of Locris, and Epirus; or of the Islands Rhodes, and Crete. There was little intercourse between nations, as I have shewn; and consequently little traffick. The chief communication, that was kept up, proceeded, from piracy and war. Hence it was as common to ask a person, whether he were a pirate, as to inquire, whether he was a fair trader.

Ω ξεινοι τινες εσε; ποθεν πλειθ' υγρα κελευθα;

Η τι κατα πρηξιν, η μαλιδιως αλαλησθε,

Οιατε ληισηρες υπειρ αλα. Odyss. Γ. v. 71.

Say Strangers, who you are, and why ye traverse the deep. Is it for the sake of merchandize: or do ye rove at random, like Pirates over the seas?

Such was the state of Greece, when this great armament under Agamemnon is supposed to have been formed. It was, we have seen, of such magnitude, that long after in the most flourishing times, when Greece abounded in wealth, and men; and when they were to fight for their Temples and Altars; for their wives and children; and for their

1 Οι δ' αε' Αθηνας ειχον ευκτιμενον ποτολιεθρον—

—των δ' αυθ' ηγεμοιευ' υιος Πεπειω Μενεσθευς,

Τη δ' αμα παντηκοντα μελαιται νηες εποντο.

IL. B. v. 546, &c.

C 2

lives

lives and liberties; it could not be equalled. All which is incredible. Yet such were the powers, which are supposed to have been assembled at Aulis.

There are other reasons, which lead us to believe these distant alliances, and this armament, impossible. It was a long time before the Greeks of Hellas proper had the courage to engage in expeditions upwards towards the north: but it was still much later, that they ventured to cross the Ægean sea. The utmost of their efforts was to Delos: beyond which they seldom trespassed. ¹ Libanius says—¹ τοῖς Ἑλλήσι ὑπερνεχθῆναι Δηλον φοβερὸν. *The Grecians esteemed it hazardous to proceed by sea above, or beyond Delos.* In the Persian war a fleet from Argolis, and Sparta were desired by the Ionians to quit their station at Delos, and to come over and assist them: and by their timely arrival they might have got possession of Samos. But they dared not comply, and accordingly returned to the coast of Sparta.—² Τῶν Ἑλλήνων δεόμενοι (οἱ Ἴωνες) καταπλωσαι ἐς τὴν Ἰωνίην, οἱ προηγὰγον αὐτὰς μόνις μέχρι Δηλῶ. Το γὰρ προσηνέστερον πάν δεινὸν ἦν τοῖσι Ἑλλήσιν, οὔτε τῶν χωρῶν εὐσι ἐμπειροῖσι.—τὴν δὲ Σάμον ἠπίσσετο δοξὴ καὶ Ἡρακλέας σήλας ἴσον ἀπεχεῖν. *When the Ionians solicited the Helladians to pass over to their coast; the utmost, that they could obtain was to get them as far as Delos. All beyond seemed full of danger: as they had little knowledge of those parts.—An expedition to Samos was to them a voyage to 3 Gades, and the Mediterranean Straits.* If then they knew so little of Samos in the time of the Persian war, we cannot think, that they were better acquainted with it in the days of Agamemnon, much less with Rhodes, which is still farther off.

¹ Libanius Orat. xix. p. 480.

² Herod. L. 8. C. 132. P. 682. Weffel.

³ However, this passage in Herodotus must not be taken too literally: for the Lacedæmonians, and other Grecians, had been at Samos in the time of Cambyfes. Herod. L. 3. C. 47. P. 219. The meaning of the Author is by an hyperbole to shew, that their acquaintance with the Island and Coast was but little: and they esteemed the distance very great, and the sea too dangerous for people so unexperienced to encounter without good cause: especially with a large fleet.

Concerning

Concerning the proceeding of the Grecians after that they had landed at Troas.

We are told, that after they had arrived upon the coast of Troas, they were opposed by the Trojans, but the Enemy was soon repulsed, and their landing secured. This however was not effected without some loss; for one of the principal Leaders of the Thessalians was slain by Hector. After their camp had been formed, and their troops regularly disposed, we may suppose, that in a day or two they proceeded to action. The Town was within their view: and in it lay the prize of their future labours, Helena; the great object, for which they had embarked. The Trojan army was not by one half so large as the Grecian. This may be shewn from the description of the Trojan camp and the fires, which were lighted up; and by the numbers allotted to each fire.

Χίλι' ἀρ' ἐν πεδίῳ πυρά καιέτο, παρ δὲ ἑκάστῳ¹

Ἐιάτο πεντήκοντα σέλα πυρός αἰθομένοιο. Θ. v. 558.

There were a thousand fires lighted up in the plain, and fifty persons reposed themselves by the side of each fire.

Agamemnon mentions the superiority of the Grecians: and how disgraceful it must prove to be worsted by them.

Αἰσχρὸν γὰρ τοδὲ γ' ἐστὶ, καὶ ἐσσομένοισι πυθεσθαι¹

Μαίψ' ἔτῳ τοιονδὲ, τοσονδὲ τέ λαὸν Ἀχαιῶν.

Ἀπρηκτὸν πόλεμον πολεμιζέειν, ἡδὲ μαχεσθαι

Ἀνδράσι παυροτέροισι——B. v. 121.

¹ It is said in another place——

Τρῶες δ' αὖ ἰτερωθέν ἀνα πτόλιν ὤπλιζον²

Παυροτέροι. IL. Θ. v. 55.

It is quite scandalous, and will prove an everlasting disgrace, to have so noble, and so numerous, an army carry on an endless war with an enemy so inferiour. Their Leaders seem to have been much inferiour to those of Greece. Hector is generally obliged to withdraw from battle, when Agamemnon, Diomedes, or Patroclus, display their valour: and sometimes nothing but the intervention of a Deity preserves him. In his engagement singly with Ajax, he is worsted in every effort; and his inferiority made manifest to both armies. But when Achilles fought, the Trojans seldom dared to come out of their city.

Οφρα μὲν ἐς πόλεμον πωλεσκέτο διὸς Ἀχιλλεύς,
 Οὐδέποτε Τρῶες προ πυλάων Δαρδανιδῶν
 Οἰχέσθον· κείνῳ γὰρ ἐδεδίσαν ὄβριμον ἔγχος. IL. E. 788.

As long as the great Achilles was active in the field, the Trojans never ventured out beyond the gates of Troy: for they dreaded the force of his spear.

Hector is said to have ventured to a small distance from the Scæan Gate; but was soon glad to retire; as we may learn from the words of Achilles.

-----Οφρα δ' ἐγὼ μετ' Ἀχαιοῖσιν πολέμιζον,
 Οὐκ ἐθέλειε μάχην ἀπὸ τεύχεος ὀρνυμέν' Ἐκτωρ,
 Ἀλλ' ὅσον ἐς Σκαίης τε πύλας, καὶ Φηγον ἵκανε.
 Ἐνθα ποτ' οἶον ἐμίμνε, μογίς δέ μιν ἐκφυγεν ὄρμην. IL. I. v. 352.

As long as I kept the field with the army Hector did not choose to engage beyond the shelter of the wall: and only advanced sometimes to the Scæan gate, and the figtree near it. There he once waited my approach, and with difficulty escaped my prowess.

We should therefore from these circumstances suppose, that an attack was made upon the City in four or five days.-----No, not in nine years. This was the place which Patroclus had nearly taken in the process of a few
 hours

hours: and which, if assaulted, would have soon sunk under the prowess of Diomede, or Agamemnon, as the Poet represents them. To the superiority of Patroclus Homer bears witness

Ενθα κεν ὑψιπυλον Τροίην ἔλον υἷες Ἀχαιῶν
Πατροκλῆς ὑπο χερσὶ. IL. II. v. 698.

Then had the Grecians taken the City of Troy with its lofty gates through the prowess of Patroclus.

The same is said of Achilles, who would have stormed it the first day that he took the field, after his secession: but was prevented by a feint of Apollo. IL. φ. v. 600. When Diomede intends to attack Hector and the Trojan army, the Poet tells us-----

Ενθαγε λαιγὸς ἐπν, καὶ ἀμνηχὰν ἔργα γέγοντο,
Καὶ νῦ κε σήκασθεν κατὰ Ἴλιον ἡντὲ ἀρνῆς,
Τρῶες----- IL. Θ. v. 130.

Then there had been sad destruction: and terrible confusion would have ensued. The Trojans would have been driven back into their city, like sheep into a pound. Notwithstanding this manifest superiority, the City was left to the tenth year, before any attack in form commenced—*decimo tandem pugnāvimus anno*. During this long interval detachments were sent to take and destroy every subordinate town in the neighbourhood, while the main body of the army lay inactive before Troy. This is an article past credibility: and there are others equally incredible.

In the first place, I do not believe, that there is any instance of a Grecian army carrying on a siege or blockade in winter, till the Peloponnesian war. And even at that time, the Lacedæmonian army, whenever it had made its inroad into Attica in the spring time, generally retired before

+ Pooh!

before winter. The Romans had been in a state of warfare from the foundation of their City with very little intermission. Yet they never made a winter campaign, till the siege of Veia. At this time—¹ *hibernacula, res nova, militi Romano ædificari cæpta.*——² *Tum primum biematum sub pellibus.* It is therefore scarcely to be believed that in these very early times an army should have subsisted in this situation so long: that a King of Mycene, or of Sparta should have kept his soldiers to this hard duty for ten years in a distant foreign Country, when other Generals of the same nation could not maintain them for a single winter in their own.

Another difficulty arises from the state of their shipping, which one would imagine, in the space of ten years must have been rendered useless. This is in some degree confirmed by Agamemnon, who says-----

Και δη δερα σεσηπε νεων, και σπαρτα λελυνται. IL. B. v. 135.

The timbers of the ships are decayed, and the rigging is quite loose.

In the space of time above mentioned the army must have been greatly diminished: and the same person is made to say----πολυν ωλεσα λαον. B. v. 115. *I have lost numbers out of my army.* Yet there is no mention made of recruits. Indeed the contrary is intimated. And though the Fleet must have been in a state of ruin, yet we read not of any repairs; much less of any supply of new vessels. On the contrary, we are informed, that the Ship, to which Hector set fire, was the self same, which brought over Protefilaus. The ships of Ulysses had been particularly employed, yet he navigated the seas for three years in his own ship, after he had left Troas. Menelaus is said to have used his ships for near eight years after the taking of Troy. He speaks of his spoils, and of the wealth, which he had obtained; and adds-----

¹ Livy. L. 5. C. 2. AUC. 350.

² Florus. L. 1. C. 12.

-----Ηγάρ πολλα παθων, και πολλ' επαληβεις

Ηγαγομην εν νηυσι, και ογδοατω επει ηλθον. Odyss. Δ. v. 81—2.

These things after many sufferings and various wanderings I have brought safe in my ships, and have arrived in the eighth year of my travels after my departure from Troy.

Concerning the little correspondence.

Another circumstance, which seems inexplicable, is this. During the whole interval of ten years, there seems to have been no correspondence kept up between the army, and the mother Country. No inquiries were made: no intelligence sent. If the persons engaged in the war, were too much employed, yet surely some of their friends, either their parents, or their relations, might have been solicitous to have heard of their welfare and success: and have dispatched at particular times a vessel for intelligence. How can we account for the Princes, and Magistrates, who remained in Hellas, being so supine, and void, not only of a sense of duty, but of natural curiosity? It could not have been much above three days sail from Troas to Theffaly: and four days to Argos. This we may learn from the return of Diomedes's companions.

Τετρατον ημαρ εην, οτ' εν Αργει νηας εισας

Τυδειδew εταροι Διομηδεος ιπποδαμοιο

Εσασαν. Odyss. Γ. v. 182.

It was the fourth day, when Diomedes and his Companions moored their vessels in Argolis.

D

Notwithstanding

Notwithstanding this we do not find any regular correspondence, or any correspondence at all, maintained. Achilles is made to say, that his father was still living, as well as the father of Patroclus. ΖΩΕΙΝ ΜΑΝ ΕΤΙ ΦΑΣΙ ΜΕΝΟΙΤΙΟΝ. IL. II. v. 14. *They say, that Menætiüs is alive.* But he afterwards intimates, that he knew nothing certain either about his father; or about Menætiüs: for he supposes, that Peleus must be either dead; or upon the eve of departure.

Ἡδὴ γὰρ Πηλεὶ γ' οἶομαι ἢ κατὰ πάμπαν

Τέθναμεν, ἢ περὶ τυτθὸν ἐτι ζῶντ' ἀκαχῆσθαι. IL. T. v. 334.

For I should think, that my father Peleus is either absolutely dead, or barely alive: and under the last afflictions of old age.

He appears equally uncertain about the fate of his son, whom he left in the island of Scyros.

-----ὅς Σκυρῶ μοι ἐντρέφεται φίλος υἱός,

Εἰπερ ἐτι ζῶει γε Νεοπτολέμος Διοειδῆς. IL. T. v. 327.

I am quite ignorant about my dear son Neoptolemus, whom I have directed to be educated in the island of Scyros, whether he be still alive.

Now Scyros could not be above two day's sail, or at most two days and an half from the coast of Troas; and Thessaly not much farther. Achilles says-----

Ἡματι τῷ τρίτῳ φθίην ἐριβόλον ἱκοίμην. IL. I. 363.

I could arrive at Pthia upon the third day of my departure.

Scyros lay nearly in the way for any ships, which passed, or repassed, to bring intelligence. Yet no intelligence seems to have been obtained during the whole time, that the army was before Troy. In the conversation,

fation, which was afterwards held between Penelope and Ulysses at their first interview, not the least hint is given, that she had ever heard from him or the Grecian army since his departure. How can we account for this want of intercourse, when the means were so obvious and easy. That, when there were a thousand Ships, many of which must have been at various seasons unemployed, not one should be sent in the space of nearly ten years to give an account of the army, and to receive reciprocal intelligence. From their ignorance it is manifest, that no correspondence was carried on, and not the least intercourse kept up.

Inferences made from the age of Helena.

The Beauty of Helena is often mentioned by the Poet. The very Elders of Troy when they saw her pass by could not help expressing their admiration

Αἰνῶς ἀθανάτησι θεῆς εἰς ὤπα εοικέν. IL. Γ. 158.

She displayed in her countenance and appearance all the marks of a Deity. Agamemnon promises to Achilles the choice of twenty captive women

Ἄϊ κε μετ' Ἀργεῖην Ἑλένην καλλίσαι εἴωσιν. IL. I. v. 140.—*next to Helena of the most exquisite beauty.*

By this he strongly intimates the superiority of her charms. But if there were the least truth in the history of this person, and in the chronology of the times, she must have been at this period a very old woman. For her brothers were in the Argonautic Expedition, and in a state of compleat manhood. One of them is mentioned, as contending in fight with Amycus, a Bebrycian, a person of uncommon stature and strength. His oppo-

nent therefore could not have been a stripling. We cannot well allow less than twenty five years for his time of life. Now from the Argonautic Expedition to the taking of Troy there were, according to ¹ Scaliger, seventy nine years. If then we add to these her age at the time of the Argonauts, which we have presumed to have been twenty five years, it makes her no less than an hundred and four, in the last year of the siege. Or if we allow her to have been only twenty at the time of the Expedition still she will prove sufficiently old to have been Hecuba's mother. Hence Seneca says very truly, when he is treating of the priority of Hesiod and Homer----- ² *utrum major ætate fuerit Homerus an Hesiodus non magis ad rem pertinet, quam scire, an minor Hecuba fuerit, quam Helena; et quare tam male tulerit ætatem.* Petavius makes the interval between this celebrated Expedition, and the fall of Troy, of the same ³ extent. The former he places in the year 3451 of the Julian Period: and the latter in 3530. The difference in both is 79. To these if we add 25 for her age at that æra, it will amount to one hundred and four. ⁴ Clemens of Alexandria gives the following Chronological account of the principal events in these times from Thrasyllus, the Mendesian. He first mentions the Argonautic

¹ Joseph. Scaliger. Animadversiones in Eusebium. p. 46.

² Senecæ Epist. 384. Concerning these and other anomalies, see Scaliger. Animadvers in Eusebii Chron. p. 54. 5.

³ Petavius states it as follows. Rationale Temp. p. 290. 291.

		A P I
Troja capta		3530
Expeditio Argonautica		3451.
	Difference	79.
Ætas Helenæ—		25.
Ejusdem Ætas anno Belli Trojani ultimo		104.
⁴ Clemens Alexand. Strom. L. 1. p. 401.		

Expedition :

Expedition : from which to the time of Theseus and the Minotaur were

	32. years
From thence to the Theban War	10.
To the first Institution of the Olympic games	3.
To the carrying away of Helena by Theseus	9.
To the Apotheosis of Hercules	11.
To the rape of Helena by Paris	4.

The total are 69 years.

After the seduction of Helena by Paris the Grecians are said to have been ten years in preparing for the war, and ten years in carrying it on. This agrees with the account given by Helena of herself in the last year of the siege, which was the twentieth from her first arrival from Sparta.

Ἡδὴ γὰρ νῦν μοι τοῦδε εἰκοσὸν ἔτος ἐστίν,

Εξ ἧς κείθεν ἔβην, καὶ ἐμῆς ἀπεληλυθα πατρὸς. IL. Ω. ν. 765.

If we then add these twenty years to the sixty nine, and likewise twenty five for her age at the time of the Argonautic embarkation, it will make her still older, than she was estimated above, and increase her years to 114. Telemachus, the son of Ulysses is said to have seen her at Sparta ten years afterwards : and she is represented even then—*Ἀρτεμίδι χρυσηλακατῶ εἰκυῖα*—*beautiful as Diana* : though at that time, if these computations are true, she must have been an hundred and twenty four years old. These things are past all belief. Yet upon this basis is the history of the Trojan war founded : and if the foundation is bad, the whole edifice must tumble.

I mention these chronological computations, in which however I place not the least trust. They form an artificial system, designed to determine
the

the times of ancient events, and reconcile the histories of the first ages. But those histories are not to be reconciled, and they are rendered more and more contradictory by the very means used to make them agree.

Of the Lovers, and Suitors of Helen.

Another instance of inconsistency will be in the history of those Princes, who formed the grand Confederacy, in order to recover her, if she should at any time be stolen away. They are said to have been for the most part her lovers, who bound themselves by an oath to unite for that purpose, whenever they should be called upon. Nestor afterwards puts them in mind of this engagement, and asks them

¹ Πῶς δὲ συνθεσΐαιτε, καὶ ὀρκία ἔησεται ἡμῖν. IL. B. v. 339.

In what will our engagements and oaths terminate?

Upon this the Scholiast gives the following history. Τυνδαρεως, ὁ πατήρ αὐτῆς, ὡς τινες φασί, φυλασσομενος, με πότε ἓνα αὐτῶν προκρίνας τῆς ἄλλης ἐχθρῆς ποιησῆται, κοινὸν αὐτῶν ὅρκον ἐλάβεν, ἢ μὴν τῷ ληψομένῳ τὴν παῖδα, ἀδικεμένῳ περὶ αὐτὴν, σφόδρα ἐπαμυνεῖν. Διοπερ Μενελάῳ αὐτὴν ἐκδίδωσι. Καὶ μετ' ὃ πολὺν χρόνον ἀρπαχθείσης ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, ἐκοινώνησαν τῆς στρατείας διὰ τῆς γενομένης ² ὀρκῆς. Scholia. ibidem.

Tyndarus, her father, as we are told, being cautious, and foreseeing, that by giving the preference to one of the Lovers he might make the rest his enemies, engaged them all to enter into an agreement upon oath, that they would effectually

¹ See Pausanias L. 3. p. 262.

² See also Apollodorus L. 3. p. 238. 9. Edit. Heynæ.

ually revenge any injury done to the person, whoever it might be, that gained the Lady. He then bestowed her upon Menelaus; and shortly afterwards when she was carried away by Paris, they cooperated in a general expedition to regain her.

At what time of life may we suppose Helena to have been, when these engagements were made in her favour, in consequence of her superior beauty? We may reasonably conclude, that she was about her twentieth or twenty fifth year: and her lovers could not well be younger. But at this rate the principal Leaders of the Grecians at the siege of Troy, must have been an hundred years old. Not only Idomeneus, Ulysses, Mnestheus, Philoctetes, and Agamemnon; but ¹ Antilochus, Meriones, Machaon, Patroclus, Diomedes, Nireus and Ajax Oileus. For these are mentioned among the Suitors of Helen. In consequence of this it follows, that Menelaus and his competitors, must have been above an hundred years of age, when they are mentioned by Homer. But the contrary is evinced in every part of the poem, wherever these Heroes are introduced. Such is the inconsistency of this history, when the separate accounts, are collated.

It has been mentioned, that before the seduction of Helena by Paris, she was said to have been stolen from her father's house by Theseus: and we are told by some Writers, that she was then but seven years old. This has been said in order to lower the time of her birth, that she may not appear so old in the last year of the war. But this is a poor expedient which in some degree remedies one evil, and at the same time creates another. How can it be conceived, that a King of Athens should betake

¹ See Hyginus. Fab. 81. p. 156. and Notes upon Thucydides L. 1. C. 9. p. 8. 56.

himself:

himself to Sparta in order to run away with a child seven years old : and how could she at that age have been officiating at the altar of Diana Orthia? This leads to another circumstance equally incredible. For if she were so young, her brothers must have been precisely of the same age : for one, if not both, was hatched from the same egg. Yet these children, so little past their infant state, are said to have pursued Theseus, and to have regained their sister. They must have been sturdy urchins, and little short of the sons of Aloëus-----

Εννεωροὶ γὰρ τοῖγε, καὶ ἐννεαπῆχες ἦσαν

Εὐρος, ἀτὰρ μῆκος γέ γε γένεθ' ἐνδορογυῖοι.

They were nine years old and nine cubits wide in the shoulders, and near sixty feet in height.

Of the Arcadian Allies.

Homer was upon his guard in many respects ; but it is difficult to render a complicated fable consistent. The Arcadians were a mediterranean people ; and consequently removed from the sea : and not at all experienced in navigation. He therefore to obviate any objection tells us, that the ships, which they navigated, were procured for them by Agamemnon. They were in number sixty-----

Ἐξήκοντα νῆες. B. 609.

In consequence of this we must suppose, if we allow only eighty five persons to a ship, that they amounted to above five thousand in the whole. This is an incredible number for such a district. And when the Poet
has

to supply these Arcadians with ships, he forgets to tell us who taught them to row, and to steer, and to manage the sails. He does not say----Εν δ' ἐκριν' ἐρετας, καὶ ἐπισκοπον ἀνδρᾶ κυβερνᾶν. Indeed they had not room for supernumeraries, there being the full complement of their own people—πολλὰς δ' ἐν νηὶ ἕκαστη Ἀρκάδες. Hence it is difficult to account for these shepherds getting to Troy.-----ἐπεὶ ὃ σφί θάλασσια ἔργα μὲμνηται. IL. B. v. 614. The Poet confesses, that they knew nothing of navigation. The only expedient, of which we can avail ourselves in this difficulty, is to suppose, that some insight might have been obtained during the ten years of preparation but how could it be effected: and where were they taught? Knowledge without practice could never be gained.

Concerning the Foss and Rampart.

Homer shews a proper precaution in respect to the fortification, which the Grecians are said by him to have erected for the security of their camp and fleet. It consisted of a Wall and rampart, with a deep ditch; all which was effected during the secession of Achilles. IL. H. v. 435. &c. We have many such ditches and ramparts in different parts of England: some of which were made many hundred years ago by the Saxons: and will probably remain as long as the Island exists. The Poet was sensible, that such a mound of earth was permanent: and that if it ever existed, people in aftertimes would expect to find it: and the credibility of his narration depended upon it's appearance. He therefore tries to obviate the objection, which would be made, when not the least remains should be discovered. He accordingly informs us, that

E.

when

when the Grecians undertook this great work, they forgot to make proper offerings to the Gods. IL. H. v. 450. Upon this account, after the war was over—*Αργεῖοι δ' ἐν νηυσὶ φίλην ἐς πατρίδ' ἐβησαν.* IL. M. 16. *and all of them were returned safe into their own Country,* Neptune and Apollo, upon account of their neglect, were resolved to ruin this rampart by an inundation: and to carry all the foil and materials by the force of waters into the sea. Thus these Deities took no notice of the Persons, who are supposed to have shewn this mark of irreverence: they never punished the offenders, but vested all their wrath upon the unconscious rampart: whose existence or nonexistence, was at this time of little consequence. They, who had been guilty, knew nothing of the God's disapprobation. They were gone far away: and could receive neither good nor evil from the transaction. The means used are very remarkable. For the Deities are said to have brought the waters of all the rivers in those parts to bear collectively upon the fortification. By these means it was loosened to its foundation, and at last born violently into the deep. The rivers were sufficient, if well directed, to have effected all that was supposed; and much more. They are mentioned in the following order.

Ἰ-----ποταμῶν μένος εἰσαγαγοντες,
 Ὅσσοι ἀπ' Ἰδαιῶν ὀρέων ἀλαδὲ πρὸρρευσσι,
 Ῥησος θ', Ἐπταπόρος τε, Καρησος τε, Ῥοδιος τε,
 Γρηνικος τε, καὶ Αἰσηπος, διος τε Σκαμανδρος,
 Καὶ Σιμοεις.
 Ἐννημαρ δ' ἐς πειχὸς ἰεὶ ῥοον, ὅς δ' ἀρὰ Ζεὺς.
 Σύνεχες.-----

* IL. M. v. 18.

The Gods were determined to ruin the rampart by bringing upon it the whole force of those rivers, which descended from mount Ida. These were the Rhæsus, Heptaporus, Carefus, Rhodius, Granicus, Æsepus, Scamander, and Simoeis. These poured with their whole weight of water for nine days upon the rampart: and all this time Jupiter sent down an incessant rain.

Hence we find, that Jupiter also lent his assistance towards this wonderful operation. But the misfortune is, that these rivers ran in different directions: and were too widely separated to have thus acted in concert. The Granicus and the Æsepus ran into the Propontis, and according to the Itinerary of Antoninus were about sixty miles from the site of Troy. The Rhyndacus was still farther to the north, and the Rhefus, the same as the Rhebas, was near the mouth of the Thracian Bosporus. ¹ *A faucibus Bospori est amnis Rhebas, quem aliqui Rhefum dixerunt.*

² Ῥηβας, ὃς ποντοιο παρὰ σοματεσσιν ὀδεύει..

Ῥηβας, ὃς καλλιστον επιχθονι συρεται ὕδωρ..

The Rhebas, which makes it's way by the mouth of the Pontus Euxinus. The Rhebas, that shapes its course with the most beautiful stream upon earth.

This river therefore could never have formed a junction with the Xanthus and Simoeis of Troy. It might take it's rise, as the Poet says, from the Mountains of Ida; but it was from the wrong side of the mountains which intervened, and prevented any communication with the Grecian rampart. The Simoeis and Scamander ran from east to west and emptied themselves in the Ægean Sea. The Granicus, Æsepus, as well as the Rhyndacus

¹ Pliny. N. H. L. 6. C. 1. p. 300. It was in Bithynian Thrace, as we may judge from Rhefus, the King, who was denominated from it by Homer. For he borrowed the names of several of his Heroes from rivers, as will be shewn.

² Dionysius περιηγησις. v. 795.

and Rhesus, passed northward, and terminated in the Propontis. Demetrius Scepsius, who was well acquainted with this part of the world, mentions particularly the Scamander, Æsepus and Granicus, and he gives of them the following account. *They took their rise from a part of Ida called Cotylus near Scepsis*—ἐξ οὗ δὲ τε Σκαμανδρος ῥεῖ, καὶ ὁ Γρανίκος καὶ Αἰσηπος. Ὅτι μὲν πρὸς Ἀρκτον, καὶ τὴν Προποντιδα, ἐκ πολλῶν πηγῶν συλλεῖθοντο, ὁ δὲ Σκαμανδρος ἐπὶ δυσὶν ἐκ μιᾶς πηγῆς. *From which ridge the Scamander descends, as well as the Granicus, and Æsepus. These two last press to the north, and run into the Propontis being collected from several springs. But the Scamander makes it's way westward, and proceeds from one spring.*

Their fountains may have been at no very great distance from each other: but their streams passed in a very different direction. Hence unless most of these streams ran upward towards their fountains, it is not possible for any union to have been produced. The Rhyndacus, as I have observed, was still higher to the north near Cyzicus, and Apollonia: and the Rhesus farthest of all. Hence if such an inundation had taken place, all the Towns and Villages for the space of an hundred miles must have been ruined. It would have deluged the whole realm of Priam however far it may have once extended; also all Bithynia above, and Asiatick Thrace. Numbers of lives must have been lost, as well as much cattle: and all this is supposed to have been done, this labour of nine days, to overthrow a wall, and to fill up a ditch. Such were the expedients of the Poet to save his credit: but they do not seem to be happily calculated. Add to this, that floods make their way from the source of a river downwards to the sea, and there discharge their waters. But this flood of Homer comes

3 Strabo. L. 13 p. 898.

across the beds of the rivers in some instances : and in others it must have been quite retrograde ; forcing, as I have mentioned, a passage upward to the fountain head, which is contrary to all experience. It is farther to be observed, if any additional argument be necessary, that Mount Ida had many secondary ridges, which began at the foot of the mountain, and ended at the sea in promontories, such as Ophrynium, Rhæteum, and others. They are by Strabo stiled *προποδες*, and from their number he compares the Mountain to a ¹ Scolopendra. These ridges were like so many bulwarks : and must have prevented any communication of waters between the rivers aforementioned. They precluded all intercourse by their intervention. We may therefore say of the Grecian rampart, the same, which was said of it by Aristotle of old—² *ὁ πλάσας ποιητῆς ἠφανισεν*. The rampart was annihilated by the very hand, that devised it.

Concerning the City of Troy, and the uncertainty of it's situation, and existence.

As Homer had the precaution to bring an inundation to sweep away the rampart ; I wonder, he did not make use of the same expedient to account for the nonexistence of the City. For there were no traces of it to be found ; nor any ancient memorial of it's having ever existed. Lucan accordingly tells us, that when the Romans under Cæsar visited Troas, and examined the whole region, not the least remains could be observed—*etiam periere ruinae*. The Author, by making mention of *ruins*,

¹ *ἰδη*—*σκολοπενδράκης*.—Strabo L. 13. p. 873. The Scolopendra is noted for the number of its legs branching out from its body.

² Strabo, L. 13. P. 894.

must

must necessarily have supposed an antecedent place: but Demetrius Scepsius a ¹ native of Troas: also ² Hestias Alexandrinus, and the Geographer Strabo, an Asiatick, with several others, could never upon inquiry find out, where the City could possibly have stood. They were unwilling to give up the fact out of their great reverence to the Poet: yet they could not determine upon any situation, which would truly correspond with the description given by Homer. The Simoeis and Scamander remained, and ἡ Ἰλίων κωμη, *a village of people, stiled Ilienses*, near which Demetrius lived; also a mean place near the coast Ilium: and above all Mount Ida: but no Troy. Not the least vestige or memorial was there of it: even the possibility of it's having existed could not be ascertained. Alexander the Great had the highest veneration for Homer; and an enthusiastick regard for his Hero. When he came to the plain of Ilium, his prejudice in favour of the place, which was supposed to have been the scene of so many great actions, led him to shew every mark of benevolence towards the people. Among other things he was resolved to rebuild their ancient city: but they could not describe, where it originally stood, as there were not the least remains to direct them. However there was a small Town near the sea shore of the name of Ilium, Alexander rebuilt it; and lavished his favours upon the inhabitants, and their neighbours: and by him the place was constituted a City. Strabo accordingly gives the following account of it—³ Τὴν δὲ τῶν Ἰλίων πόλιν τὴν νῦν, τεῶς μὲν κωμὴν εἶναι φασί, τὸ ἱερὸν ἐχούσαν τῆς Ἀθήνας μικρὸν καὶ εὐτελες. Ἀλεξάνδρον

¹ He was a native of Scepsis in Phrygia: which City was within the precincts of Troas, and about fifteen miles from the mouth of the Scamander. Σκηψίς πόλις Τρωικῇ. Steph. Byz.—Εν τῇ μεσογαίᾳ τῆς Τρωάδος Σκηψίς. Strab. L. 14. p. 941.

² Strabo. L. 13. p. 894, 895.

³ Strabo. L. 13. p. 886.

δε αναβάντα μετα την ἐπὶ τῷ Γρανικῷ νικην, ἀναθημασι τε κοσμήσαι τὸ Ἱερον, καὶ
 προσαγορεύσαι πόλιν· καὶ οἰκοδομίαις ἀναλαβεῖν προσταξάαι τοῖς ἐπιμεληταῖς, ἐλευθε-
 ραντε κριναι, καὶ ἀφορον. *The tradition is, that the place stiled now the City of
 the Ilienses, was till the time of Alexander a poor hamlet, in which stood a
 small and mean temple of Minerva. But after the victory at the Granicus
 upon his return he enriched the temple with ornaments, and honoured the place
 with the title of a city. He moreover ordered persons, whom he had appointed
 for that purpose, to renew the buildings, and to announce it a free City, exempt
 from all taxes. Many Princes afterwards made large additions; and raised
 the place to a degree of splendour. But they were all misled, and mis-
 applied these acts of benevolence; for this Town by its situation could
 never have been the ancient City. Homer tells us, that Troy was built
 in the plain—¹ ἐν πεδίῳ πεπολις: and by his account quite out of sight
 of the naval Camp, and the sea. Here some did look for the City; and,
 had any wall or ruin of a wall remained; or could the natives by any
 other means have pointed out the true situation; this mistake could not
 have happened. Strabo therefore, though he thought, that the City Troy
 did once exist, yet shews plainly, that it could not have been the place,
 esteemed afterwards as Troja Nova, but supposes, that it was higher up
 to the east, and nearer to the Hills above. He follows Homer in giving
 the honour to Dardanus of being the first of the family, who settled in the
 Country: and makes Ilius the founder of that Ilium, which was the Troy
 of Homer. This, he says, was quite a different City from that, which
 was so much favoured by Alexander.² Οὐ γὰρ (Ἴλος) ἐνταυθα ἰδρυσε τὴν πόλιν,
 ὅπερ νυν ἐστὶν (Ἴλιον, ἢ καὶ νη πόλιν) ἀλλὰ σχεδόντι τριακοντα-
 σταδίοις ἀνωτέρω, πρὸς*

¹ IL. γ. v. 217.

² Strabo. L. 13. p. 886.

εω, και προς την Ιδην, και την Δαρδανιαν, κατα την νυν καλεσμενην Ιλίων κωμην. 'Οι
 δε νυν Ιλεις φιλοδοξούσες, και θελοντες είναι ταυτην την παλαιαν, παρεσκηχασι λογον-
 τοις εκ της 'Ομηρ. ποιησεως τεχμαιρομενοις. Ου γαρ εοικη αυτη είναι ή καθ' 'Ομηρον.
*For Ilus, the founder, did not build Ilium, where the new city now stands, (near
 the sea) but nearly thirty stadia higher up to the east, and towards Mount Ida,
 and Dardania; where the place called the village of the Ilienses is now situated.
 But the people of Ilium below out of vanity, and a strong zeal to have their
 place esteemed the true City; have afforded room for dispute with those who have
 formed their judgment from Homer. For this does not appear to be the Ilium
 mentioned by the Poet.*—This evidence is of great consequence. We find
 from hence, and from some other parts of Strabo; that there are two
 places mentioned, the Iliensium pagus; and the Iliensium Civitas. The
 latter was low, not far from the sea: and, as the Author affirms, could
 not be the Troy of Homer. For that is described, as inland; and so far
 from the sea that neither the fleet could be discerned from it's battlements,
 nor the Camp of the Grecians. Hence scouts were sent out for discovery:
 and the interval was sufficiently large, to admit of attacks and retreats;
 also of advanced posts, and ambuscades. Strabo takes notice of this, and
 proves it from the conversation of Ulysses with Eumæus. 'Η διηγησις δ'
 ή προς τον Ευμαιιον υπό τῃς Οδυσσεως διασκευασθεῖσα, μέγα ἐμφαίνει τὸ διάστημα μεχρὶ
 τῆς πόλεως ἀπὸ τῶν ναυσῶν. *In the description, which Homer has introduced as
 given to Eumæus by Ulysses, the interval between the City and the Grecian ships
 seems to be considerable. Hence Ulysses, when upon an advanced station,
 is made to say—*Λίην γὰρ νηῶν ἑκὰς ἦλθομεν. *Odyss. ξ. v. 495. We are come
 much too far from the station of the ships. The converse is mentioned by
 Polydamas the Trojan.—*ἑκὰς ἀπὸ τειχεὸς εἰμεν. *We are got a great way from*

1 Strabo. L. 13. p. 894.

the wall. IL. Σ. v. 256. But the New City near the mouth of the Scamander could not have admitted these remote operations.

The Pagus¹ Ilienſium ſtood in a plain higher up towards Ida; and about three miles and an half from the ſea. Strabo therefore obſerves that in this part of the diſtrict we ſhould look for the Ilium of Homer. But many have looked; and to little purpoſe. For what diſcovery could be made, if the natives of old could afford no intelligence? Had Troy ever exiſted, ſome memorial of it's name, and ſituation, however imperfect, would have remained: and ſome traditions would have been preſerved; as the honour and intereſt of the people were ſo much concerned in their preſervation. There muſt alſo have been ruins of walls, and edifices; alſo inequalities in the earth; for by ſuch the ſite of ancient places are diſcovered. But the whole is here repreſented as ſmooth, and equable. Yet we learn from Strabo, that this² Pagus Ilienſium was by ſome thought to be the remain of the original Troy. But this was only ſuſmiſe: for the inhabitants, and their neighbours, who were a very ſenſible people, do not ſeem to have entertained any ſuch notion in the time of Alexander. Could any veſtige have been aſcertained by the people of the place, their evidence was of ſuch conſequence, that it would never have been omitted. Could they have afforded any plauſible intelligence, Alexander would have built here. and not have expended his labour upon the City below; the ſituation of which was in every reſpect incompatible with the account given by Homer.

¹ Ibid. L. 13. p. 892.

² ——— ὑπερ δε ταυτη μικρον η των Ιλιων κωμη εστιν, εν η νομιζεται το παλαιον Ιλιον ιδρυσθαι πρωτερον, τριχοντες ταδιες διεχον απο της νυν πολεως. Strabo. L. 13. p. 892. D.

Still it is said that if Troy ever existed, it must have stood near this Pagus. But then as I have urged, there must have been some remains, and the natives would have pointed them out. We know of Cities which have been long in a state of ruin, in Egypt, Palestine, Syria; and in other regions of the east. Pæstum in Italy is still visited, though long since deserted: and in our own Country we have Verulamium and Silchester. In some of these places there are splendid remains of former magnificence: and in all sufficient marks to determine their true situation. But of Troy there is no sign: no remainder: nor was there ever any upon record.

¹ Ουδεν ιχνος σωζεται της αρχαιας πολεως. *Not the least trace is preserved of the ancient City.* Strabo endeavours to give a reason for this: but I believe, that it will not be deemed satisfactory.—² Οτε γαρ εκπεπορθημενων των κυκλω πολεων, ου τελεως δε κατεσπασμενων, ταυτης δ' εκ βαθρων ανατετραμμενης, οι λιθοι παντες εις την εκεινων αναληψιν μετηνεχθησαν. Αρχαια νακτα γουν Φασι τον Μιτυληναιον εκ των εκεινων λιθων το Σιγαιον εκτειχισαι. *For when all the Cities round about had suffered greatly, but were not reduced to a state of absolute ruin; while this City was entirely desolated, and overturned to it's very foundations; they carried away all the stones from hence to rebuild those other cities. In proof of this they tell us, that Archæanax of Mitylene from these very stones repaired the Town of Sigæum.* This is evidence sufficient to prove, that there were no remains, and the reason given may at first appear somewhat plausible: but upon consideration it will be found highly improbable. For we may fairly ask, whether this was a real and true account; or only an history framed by the people to solve difficulties; and to obviate objections. Troy is represented as surrounded with a high wall and battlements: and with Towers still higher. It was also ἐπταπυλος, ornamented with seven ³ gates;

¹ Strabo. L. 13. p. 895.

² Strabo. Ibid.

³ It was stiled Τροη, ευρεια, ευρυαγυια, επταπυλος, ευτειχος, επιπυλος, ιερον Πτολιεθρον.

and

and according to the Poet's account had Temples and royal Edifices within. It is surprising when these lay in ruins, that every stone should be taken away. But supposing, that they were carried off, and not a single fragment had remained; yet they could not carry away the rubbish; which in a Town, that had been burnt must have been in great quantity. Nor is it possible to be conceived, that they could dig up all the foundations. Penelope is made to say—*jam seges est, ubi Troja fuit*. But from whom did she get the intelligence? The evidence of a latin Poet cannot in this case be admitted. I say then, that if every stone had been taken away, yet there must have remained great inequalities in the ground; mounds of earth in some places, and depressions in others: and these would have lasted to the latest ages. To lay such a ground plot, as that of Troy is supposed to have been, smooth, was a labour, that would not in those times, nor at any time, have been undertaken. To pull down is sometimes, as laborious, as to build: and to tear up old foundations is still more difficult: and the whole must have been quite unnecessary. In short if the Troy of Homer had ever existed, there would have been some remains of it. But there is not the least evidence of any upon record: at least none, to which we can give a rational assent.

Some arguments in favour of the place considered.

Though there were no remains of the City, yet we are assured by Strabo, that the names of many of the places in the vicinity of Troy, and the very landmarks described in the Ilias, were to be found in his time. Among

* Eusebius says, that it was never destroyed, but inhabited by the Sons of Antenor, and Hector. Versio. Lat. P. 19.

other things, mentioned by him as existing, was the Ερινεος, or wild fig-tree. Also the Beech-tree; and the mount called Βατιεια, Batieia; the tomb of Ilus, the tomb of Æsuetes and the beautiful hill called Calicolone.¹ Τους ονομαζομενους τοπους ενταυθα (εν τῷ Τρωικῷ πεδίῳ) δεικνυμενους ὁρωμεν τον Ερινεον, τον τε Αισυητε ταφον, την Βατιειαν, το τε Ιλῶ σημα.—² Και ἡ Καλη-Κολωνη. *We there see (in the Trojan plain) the landmarks mentioned by Homer: such as the Wild Fig: the Tomb of Æsuetes: the Batiea, the monument of Ilus—and the Cale-Colone.* In respect to the Wild fig-tree, if the account of it were true, and this tree was the same, which existed in the time of the war, the situation of the City might have been ascertained to a degree of precision. For the Ερινεος, according to Homer, stood to the west of Troy, not far from the Scaean gate, and in the way to the grecian camp, and harbour. Andromache says to Hector—

3 Λαον δε σησον παρ' ερινεον, ενθα μαλιστα

Αμβατος εσι πολεις, και επιδραμον επλετο τειχος.

Range your army in order near the Fig-tree, where the City is most accessible; and where the wall may be most easily ascended:

But it is not to be believed, that a 4 tree of this sort, if it were a landmark in the days of Priam, could have existed eleven or twelve hundred years afterwards: and that neither age, nor accident, should have brought it to ruin?

¹ L. 13. P. 892. called also καλλη-κολωνη.

² Ibid. P. 893.

³ Iliad. 2. v. 433.

⁴ Strabo in another place speaks of the Ερινεος, as a little wood, or cluster of Trees: but the poet seems to mention it as a single Tree.—Ερινεον ηνεμοεργεα. L. 13. P. 893.

Strabo speaks likewise of the ¹ Beech-tree, which grew still nearer to the Scæan Gate, as remaining in his time; which is equally incredible. The other objects, such as the Baticia, the Tomb of Ilus, and of Æsuetes, were more durable; and consequently might have existed at the time specified. But this amounts to little; for if Homer laid the scene of his great actions in this district, and founded here his imaginary City, he would certainly make it correspond with the objects round about. For this was the only way to give an appearance of truth to his fiction.

Of an apparent disagreement.

But after all there is farther reason to doubt whether these were the original objects mentioned by the Poet: or whether they were not thus denominated long afterwards by the Ilienses; and unduly given out to be the same. For had they been the true and original landmarks, they would be found to agree with the description given by Homer. But they differ from it greatly. And though they are brought by Writers, as evidences for the existence, and for the situation, of Troy, yet they will be found ultimately to make against their opinion. This will appear from the words of the Poet. Strabo tells us, that the hill called Colone, and Callicolone, and by him ² Καλη Κολωνη *the beautiful hill* retained its name in his time: and that it was the same, which is mentioned in the Ilias. He adds, that it was ten stadia (near a mile and a quarter) above the Pagus Ilienſium, where some placed ancient Troy. He had been speaking of

¹ Strabo. L. 13. p. 893.

² Ibid.

(αυχνη)

(αυχην) a particular neck of land near the plain, and then proceeds—¹ Ὑπερ δὲ τούτου μικρὸν ἢ τῶν Ἰλίων κωμὴ ἐστὶ, ἐν ᾗ νομιζέται τὸ παλαιὸν Ἴλιον ἰδρυσθαι πρότερον, τριακοντα σταδίας διεχόν ἀπὸ τῆς νυν πόλεως. *A little above this is the village of the Ilienses, where it is imagined, that ancient Troy stood of old: at the distance of thirty stadia from the new City: or three miles and an half nearly.* Again: ² Ὑπερ δὲ τῆς τῶν Ἰλίων κωμῆς δεκά σταδίας ἐστὶ ἡ Καλὴ Κολωνή, λοφὸς τις, παρ' ὃν ὁ Σιμόεις ῥεῖ, πεντασταδίον διεχών. *At the distance of ten stadia beyond, or above the village beforementioned is the Cale Colone, a beautiful hill, near which the river Simoeis runs; and which is about five stadia in circumference.* By this we learn the distance from the new City to the Village of the Ilienses, or old Troy, and are farther informed that the Calicolone lay above a mile beyond the Village. Consequently it was situated according to the Ilienses to the east, and higher up towards Mount Ida. But according to Homer it was lower, and in a contrary direction towards the west between the City, and the grecian camp upon the sea coast.

³ Ἐστὶ δὲ τις προπαροῖς πόλεως ἀπτεία κολωνή

Ἐν πεδίῳ ἀπ' ἀνέμου — *Before the City is a pointed hill at a distance in the plain.*

In another place Mars is supposed to have taken his stand upon it, and to have given encouragement to the Trojans.

⁴ Αὐτὸς δ' Ἀρης ἑτέρωθεν ἐρεμνὴ λαίλαπι ἴσος

Ὀξὺ κατ' ἀκρατῆς πόλεως Τρῶεσσι κελεύων,

Ἄλλοτε παρ Σιμόεντι θεῶν ἐπὶ Καλλικολωνῇ.

Mars from the summit of the City roar'd,

¹ Strabo. L. 13. p. 892.

² Ibid.

³ Ilias B. v. 811.

⁴ Homer Il. γ. v. 51.

*Like a fell whirlwind, to the Trojan host
Loud bellowing. Now his station quick he shifts,
And speeds from Simoeis to the lovely Mount,
Callicolone.*

We cannot suppose, that by this the Poet meant a place above a mile on the other side of Troy, with the whole City intervening: On the contrary he describes a hill before the City, from whence was a full view of both armies. In like manner, when the Gods are described, as descending to see the fight between Æneas, and Achilles, it is said

¹ Οἱ δ' ἑτέρωσε καθίζον ἐπ' ὄφρυσι Καλλικολωνῆς.

The Gods were seated apart upon the brow of the fair Hill.

The scene of action was therefore before them towards the sea, and could not have been on the farther side of the City, and at the distance, which the Ilienses supposed. No inference can be made from such evidence in proof of the situation, or even the existence, of Troy.

Concerning the Ερινεος, or Wild figtree, I have taken some notice, and also of the Φηγος or Beech; of both which Strabo has given us the situation as he obtained it from the Ilienses: But in his description he differs greatly from the Poet. Homer places it high up in the plain between the City and the Grecian Camp, where the Trojan army was sometimes marshalled against the enemy. This is manifest from the march of the Grecians upwards through that plain towards the ² City.

³ Οἱ δὲ παρ' Ἰλῆ σῆμα παλαιὸν Δαρδανίδαο
Μέσσον καππεδίων παρ' Ερινεὸν ἐσσεύοντο,
Ἰεμενοὶ πόλεως—

¹ Ibid. v. 151.

² See the speech of Andromache before quoted. Il. L. Z. v. 433.

³ Il. Λ. v. 166.

The Grecians marched briskly by the Tomb of Ilus, the son of Dardanus, through the middle of the Trojan plain: and then by the Erineus, or Figtree, eager to get to the City.

In this march the first object by which the Grecians passed was the Tomb of Ilus, and next in order was the Figtree: and higher up according to the Poet stood the Φηγος, or Beech. But the Ilienses and Strabo have given a very different account; for they place the Beech a little below the Figtree. This however could not have been the true situation: for the Beech was highest of all and nearest to the City. It stood close to the Scæan Gate; as may be shewn from several passages in the Poet.

² Ἐκτὼρ δ' ἐς Σκαιᾶς τε πύλας καὶ Φηγὸν ἵκανε.

³ Ἀλλ' ὅσον ἐς Σκαιᾶς τε πύλας καὶ Φηγὸν ἵκανε.

⁴ Ἀλλ' ὅτε δὲ Σκαιᾶς τε πύλας καὶ Φηγὸν ἵκοντο.

The Beechtree therefore was the farthest, and highest object in passing from the camp to the City. The Figtree was next, lower down: and the Tomb of Ilus, which was perhaps the same as the σκοπία, the lowest, and nearest, to the sea. There is therefore no trust to be reposed in the accounts of the natives of late date, from whom Strabo had his intelligence: for the situation of these objects, as given by them, is contrary to the description transmitted by the Poet. The history of Troy cannot be authenticated by such evidence. The Ilienses of old never made any such pretensions.

¹ ὁ Φηγος μικρὸν κατωτέρω ἐστὶ τῇ Ερινεῷ. L. 13. p. 893.

² Il. Z. v. 237.

³ I. v. 354.

⁴ Δ. v. 170.

Farther Observations.

In short, whatever objects may have existed, one great article of evidence was certainly wanting: There remained not only no trace of any such City, as Troy: but the very name seems to have been for a long season unknown. We read of Ilium and Ilienses; but the names of Troja, and Trojani, were foreign to the Country. They were not known, till the Grecians introduced them; and even then not admitted by the natives. Herodotus speaks of Ilium, more than once: and particularly takes notice of Xerxes marching through the ¹ Campus Iliensis towards the Hellespont. ² Arrian and ³ Plutarch mention the same history of Alexander, who is said to have offered sacrifices at Ilium. But not one of them has transmitted any memorial of Troy; nor is the name of Troas to be found in their account. Hence we may apply to the City, what Aristotle before said of the Rampart—ὁ πλεσας ποιητης ηφανισεν. With the Poet, it began, and ended.

Arrian indeed tells us that in the Temple at Ilium Alexander found *some of the weapons used in the Trojan war.*—⁴τινα ὀπλων ετι εκ τς Τρωικς εργα σωζομενα. He says----λεγουσι, *the people say so*: but the report was certainly without any foundation. Alexander and his Friends went with a strong prepossession, that this place near the sea was the ancient Troy. The natives took care not to contradict a notion, by which they were to gain such advantages. But it has been shewn, that this Ilium was

¹ Herod. L. 7. C. 43. P. 530. ες το Πριαμν Περγαμον ανεβη—

²—ανελθοντα ες Ιλιον—δυσαι. Arrian. Exp. L. 1. P. 24.

³—αιχρας εις Ιλιον—κ. τ. λ. Vol. 1. P. 672. The name of Troas was not known till Antigonus built Alexandria in honour of Alexander the Great, which was also called Troas.

♦ L. 1. C. 11. P. 25.

of a different situation from the Troy of Homer, being within a mile of the sea, and at that time a ¹ poor hamlet, with a Temple—² μικρον και ευτελες---*small, and mean*. There was not a circumstance, which could be made to correspond with the City of Homer: of which there were no remains—³ οδε ιχνος σωζεται *not the least trace could be found*.

Corollary.

If then the Grecians were never engaged in any war with the Trojans: and if no such City as Troy ever existed in these parts, to what does Homer allude in the long description afforded? Is the whole a mere figment, the vague offspring of his imagination: or is it at all founded in truth; and from whence was that truth derived? Strabo had a great veneration for Homer: and was born at no very great distance from the region called afterwards Troas. He also copied the opinions of Demetrius, who was a native of Scepsis, a city of note in this very region. He allows, notwithstanding his prejudices, that the Poet made use of much fiction to embellish his work.----³ παρεισι γαρ τῷ Ποιητῇ και πλαττειν τα μη οντα. *There are instances of the Poets forging, what never existed*. But at the same time he tells us in another place, that there was sufficient evidence from collateral traditions to shew, that the whole was not a fiction.----⁴ Αι δε τοιαυται μυθοποιαι τεκμηρια των λεγομενων ὑφ' ἡμων εισιν οτι ου παντα Ὅμηρος αὐτος επλαττειν. *These traditional histories are proofs of what I have maintained, that the whole of the Iliad was not a mere invention of the*

¹ ——— τῶς κωμῇ ——— Strabo L. 13. P. 886.

² Ibid.

³ Strabo. L. 8. P. 530.

⁴ Ibid. L. 5. P. 342.

Poet. Homer had certainly some ancient, and foreign history before him, which he modelled to his own mind: and laid the chief scene of the operations in a region of Phrygia. In the performance of this work he has given a geographical account of the several States of Greece, to whose honour he transposed it: and also of the confederate Cities and people, who were to be found in Phrygia, and upon the coast of Asia Minor. But the groundwork of his poem I am persuaded was foreign and the great question to be decided is from whence it was borrowed.

*Conjectures concerning the two Poems, the Ilias and Odysssea;
and concerning the Author.*

If I were to hazard a conjecture, I should suppose, that Homer was of a Grecian family, which had long resided in Ægypt, and was in some degree allied to people of that nation. Also that this family came away, either the whole, or in part, and settled in Greece. With them they brought many traditions, and histories; also many of the rites of the Country, whence they came. Of these histories Homer probably got the first intelligence from his friends, which he afterwards improved in Egypt, transposed, and adapted to the manners of Greece: and at the same time introduced a new set of Personages from that quarter. And as the original names were Egyptian, he in great measure changed them: and substituted others, which he has taken from Deities: many also from places: others from lakes and rivers: and some are denominated from circumstances in the ¹ Poem. This has been observed by Strabo, who says—² πολλή γὰρ ἡ

¹ Such as Αἰνείας, Πρωτεσίλαος, Σαμάνδριος, Αἴσιος, Αἰεΐα. Ἑκτωρ, Κηφισίης, Νεοπτολέμος.

² L. 12. P. 847.

ὁμωνυμία παρ' αὐτῷ καὶ ἡ ἀπο τῶν ποταμῶν καὶ λιμνῶν, καὶ χωρίων ἐπικλησίς.

There is a great correspondence and similitude among the names in Homer: which names are borrowed from rivers, lakes, and other places.

He seems to have been a great traveller, and a curious observer like his favourite Ulysses

¹ Πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων ἰδὲν ἄσπεα, καὶ νοῦν ἐγνώ.

In his travels he must have been exposed to many hardships by land: but particularly by sea: for he paints the dangers of that element in a very affecting manner. He had a great curiosity, and exquisite feelings: and all uncommon phænomena made strong impressions upon his mind. All ancient lore afforded a rich repast, upon which he fed with extacy and with this turn of mind he was strongly inclined to superstition. His alliance with the Egyptians encouraged this soothing affection. Hence in his poems we have continual references to the customs of that people. From many passages in the Ilias, and from far more in the Odyssey we may judge that he was of an humane disposition: but at the same time tinged with melancholy, which made those rites of Egypt have a great influence over him. Upon these gloomy mysteries he reflected with pleasure: and he continually alludes to them in his poems. He first introduced the knowledge of the nine Muses into Greece: who were properly Priestesses of the same number in the Temples of Egypt: but particularly at ²Hermopolis, where they chanted hymns in honour of the Deity, who was principally worshiped at that place.--Εννεα Μῦσαι--λιγυαί--³ αμειβομένησι οὔτι καλῇ. He styles them ἰσότητες μῶδης, and addresses them, as knowing all things.

¹ Odyss. A. v. 3.

² Plutarch Isis et Osiris. P. 352.

³ Odyss. Ω. v. 60. Hence Osiris was stiled Μεσαγίτης.

¹ Εσπέτε

¹ Ἐσπετε νυν μοι, Μῦσαι, Ὀλυμπία δώματ' ἔχουσαι,

Ἵμεῖς γὰρ Θεοὶ ἐσμεν, παρέσθε τε, ἴσε τε πάντα.

Tell me, ye Muses, who Olympus hold:

For ye are Goddesses, and all things know.

To their care were entrusted the Archives of Egypt: and to them application was made for any historical intelligence. Hence were derived those addresses made to them by the Greek Poets for divine information. Many instances may be produced of articles borrowed by Homer from Egypt. In the first book of the Ilias he introduces Thetis, as saying, that Jupiter had passed the ocean to enjoy a feast prepared for him by the Ethiopians, and that he would not return till the twelfth day.

² Ζεὺς γὰρ ἐπ' ὠκεανὸν μετ' ἀμυμονας Αἰθιοπίας

Χθίζος ἐβη μετὰ δαίτα, θεοὶ δ' ἅμα πάντες ἔποντο.

Δωδεκάτη δὲ τοι αὐθις ἐλεύσεται Ὀυλύμπονδε.

Jupiter went yesterday, with all the Gods attending him, to the Ocean to partake of a feast with the Ethiopians: and he will return upon the twelfth day.

We learn from Diodorus Siculus, that this history was intirely copied by Homer from the Egyptians. ³ Τὴν εἰς Αἰθιοπίαν ἐκδήμιαν ἐκείθεν αὐτὸν μετενεγκεῖν. One name of Egypt was Ethiopia, and the natives called their river the ⁴ ocean, and passed over it at the time of this celebrity; at which time the statue of Serapis was carried to the Libyan side of the Nile; and after a festivity of twelve days was brought back to it's proper Temple. He

¹ IL. B. 484.

² IL. A. v. 423.

³ L. I. P. 88.

⁴ Ὅτι γὰρ Αἰγυπτίῳ νομίζουσιν ὠκεανὸν εἶναι τὸν παρ' αὐτοῖς (Νεῖλον) ποταμὸν.—Diodorus Sic. L. I. P. 12.—
τὸν δὲ ποταμὸν ἀρχαῖστ' αὐτὸν μὲν ὀνομασθῆναι ὠκεανὸν (ὁ δὲ ὠκεανὸς) ὅς ἐστιν ἑλληνιστὶ ὠκεανός. *ibid.* p. 17.

produces

produces many more instances to the same purpose ; by which he shews, that Homer borrowed largely from that Country. The same is confirmed by other Writers, who have given an account of the Poet. Hence ² Justin Martyr mentions his being conversant in that part of the world—ὅτι δὲ καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐν Αἰγυπτῷ γεγόνε. And another Writer tells us—³ Ἱστορίας συντάττειν ἐδίδαξαν αὐτὸν παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις τῶν χρόνων ἀναγραφαι. *The Annals of the Egyptians, with which he had been acquainted, instructed him in the composition of history.*

It is remarkable, that he stiles the Princes in each army Ποιμένες Λαοῦ, *Shepherds of the People*. This was an Egyptian title ; and I believe to be found only in that Country, and some nations in the east. He likewise mentions, an abhorrence of fish both among the sailors in the fleet of Menelaus, and the crew of Ulysses. Nothing but absolute necessity could force them to have recourse to these means of preservation. And even then they made use of these helps so sparingly, that they scarcely prevented starving.

-----⁴ εἰς τὴν δὲ γαστέρα λιμός. *Their bodies were exhausted by hunger.* This disgust towards fish prevailed among the Egyptians ; and was to be found also among the people of Syria. ⁵ Ἰχθύων οὐ σφί ἐξέσι πασσασθαι. *They were not allowed to taste of fish.* Even in the Grecian army no notice is taken by Homer of the people having any aliment from the sea ; of which Plato makes mention. ⁶ ἐπὶ στρατίας ἐν ταῖς τῶν Ἡρώων ἐσιασεσθαι οὐκ ἰχθύων αὐτοὺς ἐσίει (Ὅμηρος) καὶ ταῦτα ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ ἐν Ἑλλησποντῷ ὄντας, οὔτε ἐφθοῖς

¹ Diodorus L. 1. P. 88.

² Just. Mart. Cohort. P. 27.

³ Tatianus Assyr. C. 1. P. 243.

⁴ Odyss. Δ. v. 369.—M. v. 332.

⁵ Herod. L. 2. C. 37. P. 121. Athenæus L. 4. P. 157.

⁶ Plato de Repub. L. 3. P. 404. B. Plutarch Sympos. L. 8. P. 728, 729. See Athenæus. L. 1. P. 13. and P. 25.

κρεασίν,

κρεασιν, αλλα μονον οπτοις. *During the expedition, when the Heroes are feasted, Homer never treats them with fish, nor does he allow them any boiled or stewed meat, but only such, as has been dressed by fire.*

As Homer seems to shew a secret regard for the Egyptians in many parts of his Poems, this may have been one reason for his celebrating so particularly the Athenians, who were in great measure descended from that nation, and particularly from the people of ¹ Sais. He stiles them ² Δημον Ερεχθης μεγαλητορος: *the people of the noble Erechtheus*—and who Erechtheus was we may learn from Diodorus Siculus. ³ Ερεχθεα λεγουσι, το γενος Αιγυπτιον οντα, βασιλευσαι των Αθηνων. *They speak of Erechtheus as of Egyptian race, and as reigning at Athens.* Cecrops, another King, was called διφυης, and Suidas gives the reason for his being stiled *two fold*,—*δια το απο Αιγυπτου γενεσθαι, και εκ Ελλάδα ελθειν. Because he was a native of Egypt, and came and resided in Attica.*

Farther account of Homer and his connexions with Egypt.

Writers not only agree, that Homer resided in Egypt: but some of them maintain, with what certainty I do not pretend to determine, that he was a native of that Country: and from thence brought the chief materials of his two Poems. ⁴ Tatianus gives a list of the principal persons who wrote concerning Homer. But as the scope of his inquiry was to find out the time of his birth, rather than the place, he affords not much

¹ See Diodorus, Siculus L. 1. P. 24 and 25. Tzetzes upon Lycoph. P. 16. v. 111. Scholia upon the Plutus of Aristophanes.

² Il. B. v. 547.

³ Diodorus. L. 1. P. 24 and 27.

⁴ Tatiani Affyr. C. 31. P. 269.

light to the present purpose. However many of the Authors were known to Clemens of Alexandria and are mentioned by him: and he says—¹ Ὅμηρον οἱ πλείστοι Αἰγυπτίων φαινέσιν. *Most of those Writers declare that Homer was an Egyptian.* According to Ptolemy Hephæstion, who was of Egypt, Homer, when he left that Country, brought with him the original history, or poem, out of which he formed his Ilias, and Odyssey. This he is said to have obtained from Phantasia, a Priestess of Memphis. ² Φαντασία, τις Μερφίτις-----συνεταξε πρὸ Ὁμήρου τὸν Ἰλιάκον πόλεμον, καὶ τὴν περὶ Ὀδυσσεύος διήγησιν. καὶ ἀποκείσθαι φασὶ τὰς Βιβλὰς ἐν Μερφίδι. Ὅμηρον δὲ παραγενομένον, καὶ τὰ ἀντιγραφα λαβόντα παρὰ Φανίτης, τὰ ἱερογράμματα, συντάξαι ἐκείνοις ἀκολούθως. *A woman of Memphis named Phantasia-----composed an account of the Trojan war before Homer: also an Odyssey. These Books were deposited at Memphis, and in consequence of this, Homer, when he was at that City, obtained a copy of these Histories from Phanites a Scribe: and from these evidences composed his two Poems.* If there be the least truth in this account, the whole of the war in Phrygia is a fable. The learned Writer of the Essay upon Homer, prefixed to Mr. Pope's Version, thinks, that there is no credit to be given to this history: for he says, that Phantasia was not a name of Egyptian original, but plainly from Greece, as is manifest from its construction and termination. No Priestess therefore of Memphis could have been so denominated. Notwithstanding this determination, I cannot readily give up this history: nor suppose, without better proof, that the name was foreign to Egypt. It may be a little changed; and the terminating syllable has been new formed to the taste of the Grecians: but it may still be the genuine offspring of the Country to

¹ Clemens. Strom. L. 1. P. 354. and P. 389. concerning the different accounts of the age in which he lived.

² Apud Photium Bibl. P. 486. l. 38.

which

which it is imputed. The person mentioned is said to have been a Priestess: and P'hant denoted such an office. The Greeks imported the word; and used it in the same signification. Hence (Ἱεροφάντης,) Hierophantes, *was a ministering Priest. Hierophantia the office of a Priest. Theophantor, a Priest of God. Diophantus a priest of Jupiter: Iö phantes a priest of Iö, Σεληνή. Demophantus, a priest of the people.* Some would derive the word from φαίνω, luceo, and appareo. But this radix is not adequate; and the purport too general. Besides as I have before said, it is an original Egyptian term; and is properly expressed *bant* and *bont*: but with the national prefix, it is rendered P'hant, and P'hont. This may be proved from the Coptic; in which language the word is retained in it's ancient and original acceptation. Thus, where mention is made in the Greek version Genesis C. 41. v. 45. of Petephree Priest of Heliopolis—Πετεφρη ἱερεὺς Ἡλιεπολεως, it is rendered in the Coptic ¹—Petephree P'hont On ti Baki—*Petephree, Priest of On the City*—i. e. the City On.

I therefore am persuaded, that both Phantasia, and Phanites, were Egyptian names, however altered by the Greeks. The one related to a Priestess, probably Phant-Isis, the Priestess of Isis: the other, Phanitis, was a sacred Scribe, who administered probably in the same temple. He is said also to have borrowed no small part of his materials from Daphne of ² Thebes. By this was not originally meant Thebes in Bœotia; but Θηβαι Αἰγυπτιαὶ ἑκατομυλοὶ *Egyptian Thebes with it's hundred gates*, where Daphne was a Muse or Priestess; in whose care were the Archives to which Homer was beholden. He was himself by some supposed to have been a native of this City; as we learn from an Epigram, or more probably an Epitaph, composed to his memory.

¹ See Coptic Lexicon of la Croze, published by Dr. Woide, p. 157.

² Diodorus Sic L. iv. p. 269.

¹ Ἐνθαδὲ θεῖος Ὅμηρος, ὃς Ἑλλάδα πᾶσαν αἰεῖσε,
Θηβῆς ἐκγεγάως τῆς ἑκατονταπύλης.

Here (lies) the divine Homer, who celebrated all Hellas; and who was a native (of Egyptian) Thebes with its hundred gates.

From these circumstances I am induced to believe, that the original history upon which Homer founded his Ilias, was borrowed from this part of the world. This he modified, and transposed in honour of Greece. I have mentioned, that Strabo, as well as Demetrius of Scepsis, and others searched, and could find no trace of a City Troy in Phrygia. But he found a Troy in Egypt, a few miles below ² Memphis: and the situation is described so precisely, that it cannot be mistaken. He says, that it was built upon a hill, where were the quarries, from whence the stones were taken for the construction of the Pyramids. He farther adds, that it was of a rocky foundation: and had caverns underneath; from whence those massy stones had been formerly dug out. ³ Περὶ τοῦ μεταλλοῦ τῶν λιθῶν, ἐξ ὧν αἱ Πυραμίδες γεγονασιν, ἐν περὶ ἐν τῇ Αραβίᾳ, Τρωικὸν τι καλεῖται πετρῶδες ἱκανὸς οὐρός----καὶ κωμὴ πωλησίου καὶ τέτοις, καὶ τῷ ποταμῷ Τροία καλεσμένη-----κατοικία παλαιὰ Τρωῶν κ. τ. λ. *Hard by the stone quarries, from whence the opposite Pyramids were built, at the place of passage in Arabia over the River, stands a very rocky Hill, named the Trojan Mount.-----and there is a Town near to the places above mentioned, and to the river, which is called Troy-----an ancient habitation of Trojan Captives, who came into Egypt with Menelaus. This Hill we find stood on the Arabian side at the place of passage, where the people crossed the Nile.-----And there was a Town or Village*

¹ Antholog. Gr. L. 3. P. 269. Edit. Steph.

² Strabo L. 17. P. 1162. Also a mountain—Τρωικὸν τι καλεῖται πετρῶδες ἱκανὸς οὐρός.

³ Ibid.

close by it upon the banks of the river; which Town was named Troy; and had been formerly the habitation of people called Trojans.

Strabo, while he affords us this curious history, almost ruins it through that vanity, which was so predominant among the Grecians: and which led them to make their Ancestors the chief agents in every operation, however foreign, if they could frame to themselves any seeming correspondence. He therefore, asserts, that the place had it's name from the Trojans who accompanied Menelaus to Egypt; and settled here---

ἡ κατοικία πάλαια τῶν Μενελάου συγκατακολλησάντων, αἰχμαλώτων Τρωῶν, καταμειναντῶν δ' αὐτοῖσι.

Who can possibly believe, that a City in Arabia was built, and a Colony there founded by Trojan captives? It seems, that settlements, and even kingdoms in these days were very easily obtained. But what the least evidence in history was there for this fact? The Grecians were not contented with supposing, that a large province in Egypt was denominated from Menelaus, and peopled by him: and that the chief maritime City of the Country was built by him in honour of his Pilot, but they make the very slaves and fugitives found a colony and occupy a post of the greatest consequence in those parts. The whole is an idle fiction: and contrary to the evidence of the Poet, who gives strong intimation of the ² contrary.

Strabo styles this place *κωμη*, a town or village, but Stephanus speaks of it as a city. *Ἐστὶ καὶ τῆς Αἰγυπτῶ Τροία.* The stones of this hill were much esteemed, and called from the place *Lapides Troici*. There was a

¹ Ibid.

² Odyss. L. 4. v. 355, &c.

like quarry upon the Red-Sea, which is mentioned by ¹ Ptolemy, as being called Τρωικὸν λίθου ὄρος. *The Hill of Trojan stone*, from the similarity of the quarry. Diodorus Siculus speaks of Troja Ægyptiaca, which he describes, as so called in his time ²—*ἣν Τροίην τὴν νυν ἔσαν παρὰ τὸν Νεῖλον. The Place called Troy, which still exists upon the river Nile.* It stood close to Lito-polis, or rather Latopolis, to which it was probably a garrison. From the Quarries near this place according to ³ Herodotus the stones were taken for the construction of the Pyramids: which Strabo mentions as being got from Troy. This City by it's situation, was the key to Egypt eastward, and therefore the first object to be obtained by every power, that invaded that Country. It was the same as Babylon,---⁴ Βαβυλων, φρουρίον ἐρυμνον. *Babylon, a strongly situated Garrison*, though Strabo makes them different: this difference arose merely from one being a City, and the other a Garrison upon the hill, and an appendage to that city, named Troy.

Concerning a War of Troy in Egypt, and of Memnon, the Ethiopian.

There had been, I imagine, in ancient times, some great war in Egypt: and a powerful contest about this particular place. This contest lasted for a long time, and probably gave birth to the original Poem of Troy. To this war, and to this Troy, came Memnon the Ethiopian, as an auxiliary, from the upper regions of ⁵ Egypt. His introduction here is consistent;

¹ Lib. 1. P. 117.

² L. 1. P. 52.

³ Herod. L. 2. C. 8. P. 106. Josephus Ant. L. 2. C. 15. P. 111.

⁴ Strabo. L. 17 P. 1160.

⁵ Egypt, particularly the upper region, was called Ethiopia, — *Ἐκλήθη δὲ — καὶ Αἰθία, καὶ Ποταμία, καὶ Αἰθιοπία.* Eustath. in Dionys. ad ver. 239.

and

and there is reason for his lending assistance, when the Country was invaded. But it is not to be believed, that any such person could arrive upon the coast of Phrygia, and Troas. There were Ethiopians upon the Tigris and others in India. They were also to be found in Arabia, and in upper Egypt, and beyond it, and we read of them in Mauritania.---

Αἰθιοπες ————— εσχάτοι ἀνδρῶν,

Οἱ μὲν δυσόμενός Ὑπερίονος, οἱ δ' ἀνιόντος. Odyss. A. v. 23.

The Ethiopians, the most remote of all nations upon earth. Some of whom are placed far in the west: others at a great distance towards the rising sun in the east.

The western are mentioned by Virgil; and their place described

Oceani juxta fines, solemque cadentem,

Ultimus Æthiopum locus est. Æneis. iv. v. 480.

I have mentioned four nations of Ethiopians; to which of them can we suppose that body of men to have belonged, which are said to have come to the assistance of the Trojans in Phrygia: and what connexion could have possibly subsisted between Memnon, the Son of the Morning, and the petty states upon the Hellespont? certainly none. It is not to be conceived, that in those early times the name of the Hellespont, and Phrygia, or even of Hellas ever reached those nations. Besides, nobody can suppose, that either of the two most distant nations of Ethiopians ever made their way to Troas from the Indus, or from the fretum Gaditanum. We must then take it for granted, that they were led from the vicinity of Persis, or else from the upper region of Egypt. But how could Memnon bring them. Οὐ μὲν γὰρ μιν πᾶσον οἶον αἰετὸν ἐνθαδ' ἵκεσθαι. *For he could hardly have travelled so far on foot. It may be answered, that they came in ships. But from which part of world?—*

From

From the banks of the Tigris, and Choaspes? or from the Cataracts of the Nile? Undoubtedly from neither. The notion is idle, as the fact was impossible. The history therefore has been borrowed, and improperly applied: and never related to Greece or Phrygia. It was taken from the Annals of Egypt: and to that Country it must be again ascribed.

Ancient Traditions concerning a War at Troy.

There were several, who wrote, concerning this war before the time of Homer: for I do not think him to have been of that antiquity, to which he has been generally raised. Writers differ greatly about the year of his birth: for, when they have stated the supposed æra of Troy, they introduce him afterwards at various intervals, each according to his own estimate and conception. ¹ Tatianus Assyrius, ² and Clemens of Alexandria, mention the different opinions, and tell us, that he flourished, according to Cretes about eighty years after the war. Eratosthenes placed him at the distance of an hundred years. ³ Aristarchus made the interval an hundred and forty. ⁴ Cassius Hemina an hundred and sixty. Others proceeded farther: and extended the space to above four hundred years from the taking of Troy. Some advance it even to five hundred; among whom are Euphorion, and Theopompus. ⁵ Θεοπόμπος μὲν, ἐν τῇ τεσσαρακοστῇ τρίτῃ τῶν Φιλιππικῶν, μετὰ ἐτὴ πεντακοστία τῶν ἐπὶ Ἰλίου στρατευσάντων γεγενῆσθαι τὸν Ὅμηρον ἰστέρι, κ. τ. λ. *Theopompus, in the forty third Book of his Philippics mentions,*

¹ Tatianus Assyrius. P. 269.

² Clemens Alexand. Strom. L. 1. P. 389.

³ Clemens Alexand. L. 1. p. 388.

⁴ Aulus Gellius. L. 17. C. 21. P. 981, 2. See Marsham's Chron. Canon. P. 412, 413.

⁵ Clemens supra. P. 389.

that

that Homer was born above five hundred years after those persons, who warred against Troy. Euphorion made him as late as the 18th. Olympiad. In this manner Writers differ about the time of Homer: and there is equal uncertainty about the place of his nativity.

At whatever time he may have lived, there were certainly persons before him, who had written upon the same subject. I have mentioned Daphne of Thebes stiled the Sibyl, and Phantasia of Memphis; from whose Egyptian histories Homer is said to have borrowed. There was likewise Sisyphus² Coüs, a writer said to have been of great antiquity. Also according to Ælian a Poet³ Syagrius, the first upon record among the Grecians, who wrote upon the Trojan war *ὁ 4 πρῶτος τὸν Τρωικὸν ἦσε πολέμον.* Also a woman Helena⁵ *ἡ πρὸ Ὁμήρου Ἑλένη*, who lived before Homer: and to whom some say, that he was indebted for the scheme of the Ilias. Many other Persons are to be found, who were said to have brought learning from⁶ Egypt.

¹ — Παρ' ἧς φασὶ καὶ τὸν ποιητὴν Ὁμήρου πολλὰ τῶν ἑκὼν σφειτρισμένων κοσμήσαι τὴν ἰδίαν ποιήσιν. Diod. Sic. L. 4. P. 269. C.

² Johan. Malala 1. P. 167. J. Tzetzes Chil. 5. Hist.

³ Ælian. Var. Histor. L. 14. C. 21. P. 959.

⁴ Eustath. ad Il. P. 3.

⁵ Ptolemy Hephæstion. Photii Biblioth. C. cxc. P. 482. See Fabritii Biblioth. L. 1. Tom. 1. P. 232.

⁶ See Marsham's Chron. Can. P. 149.

Concerning the different Accounts transmitted.

That Homer borrowed his account is manifest: but to whom he was principally indebted is not so clear. Thus much we learn, that it was the common opinion of the Grecians, that before the time of Homer there were various accounts of the Trojan War. They were brought over, I imagine, by ¹ Melampus, and his followers, the Melampodes: also by the Cadmians, who came from Thebes in Egypt; and introduced their religion in Bœotia. Besides these there were other Emigrants, who led colonies from Egypt. These accounts being received in different parts, were varied according to the fancy of those, who received and adopted them. Some of these Colonies, as we have reason to believe, arrived before the use of elementary characters had been introduced. Hence whatever original truths may have been imported, they could not by oral tradition be kept long without mixture. The same story in the same age, and even in the same day, when told by different people, is often attended with much change, and also interpolation.

Among the accounts transmitted, which do not accord with the narration in Homer, we find these, which follow. If we may believe ² Eusebius, as published by Scaliger, it was not Paris, but Menestheus Ilieus, who was the cause of the Trojan war. From another ³ quarter we learn, that Agamemnon did not command in that war, but Protefilaus. We are also ⁴ told, that Achilles the son of Peleus, and Achilles the son of

¹ Herodotus. L. 2. C. 49. P. 127.—*πυθομένην ἐξ Αἰγυπτου*—Diodorus Sic. L. 1. P. 87.

² Euseb. Chron. P. 33. l. 46. *Μενεσθεύς ὁ Ἰλίου*. It is differently mentioned. Syncellus. P. 172.

³ Ptolemy Hephaestion apud Photium. P. 488. and P. 489.

⁴ Ibid.

Thetis,

Thetis, were two different persons. That Achilles was the son of Philomele the daughter of Actor, according to ¹ Deimachus. That he did not kill Memnon the Ethiopian: nor was that person ever at Troy—² ἀποθανεῖν δὲ οὐκ ἐν Τροίᾳ, ὅτι μὴδὲ ἀφικέσθαι ἐς Τροίαν. Lastly, that Achilles was not slain by Paris, but by the Amazon ³ Penthesilea.

By ⁴ others his history was still farther varied; as was the history of Thetis. We are told, that Iphigenia was the same, as Iphianassa, who was sacrificed at Aulis by her father Agamemnon. The fact is mentioned by several Writers, and particularly by ⁵ Lucretius.

Aulide quo pacto Triviai Virginis aram

Iphianassai turparunt sanguine fædè

Ductores Danaum delecti, prima virorum.

⁶ Propertius also speaks of her being offered up, but calls her Iphigenia.

Hoc juvene amisso, classem non solvit Atreides,

Pro quâ maculata est Iphigenia morâ.

Some say, that an ⁷ hind was substituted in her room: and that she was conveyed to the Tauric Chersonesus by Diana; in whose Temple she officiated as Priestess.

-----⁸ ελαφον αντιδρσα με θεα,

Αρτεμις εσωσε μ', ἣν εθυσ' ἑμος πατηρ.

¹ Scholia in Apollonium Rhodium. L. i. v. 558.

² Philostratus. L. vi. p. 262.

³ Ptol. Hephæstion apud Photium. p. 490.

⁴ ——— αλλοι δ' ἄλλως περὶ αὐτῆς ἀποφαινεται. Ibid.

⁵ De Rerum Nat: L. i. v. 85.

⁶ Eleg. L. 3. E. 5. v. 53. and L. 4. El. i. v. 111.

⁷ Ovid. Metamorph. L. 12. v. 34. Hyginus Fab. xcvi. p. 185.

⁸ Euripides Iphigenia in Tauris. v. 28. and 783.

The Goddess Artemis saved me by substituting an hind in my place, which my Father offered in sacrifice.

According to others she was herself turned into an hind. But ¹ Antoninus Liberalis says, that she was changed to a Cow, or Heifer. On the contrary ² Phanodemus the historian maintained, that the change was into a Bear: while Nicander contended, that it was into a Bull. Last of all, others insisted, that she was transformed to an old woman. In contradiction to all these Homer intimates, that she never underwent any such metamorphosis, either of a bull, or a bear, or a cow, or an hind, or even of an old woman. Nor was she sacrificed, nor ever in the Tauric Chersonesus. Agamemnon in Homer speaks of her as living very quietly with her mother, and sisters, in Greece; and makes an offer of her to Achilles, if he should choose her, for a wife.

Τρεῖς δὲ μοι εἰσι θυγατρὲς ἐνὶ μεγάρῳ εὐπηκτῶ:

Χρυσόθεμις, καὶ Λαοδίκη, καὶ Ἰφίανασσα;

Ταῶν ἣν κ' ἐβέλησε φίλῃν ἀναίδνον ἀγέσθαι:

Εἰς οἶκον Πήληος—IL. L. I. v. 145. That is, *I have three daughters, one of which is Iphianassa, Achilles may choose which he pleases.*

The common tradition concerning Astyanax Scamandrius, the son of Hector; and of Ascanius Iulus, the son of Æneas, is, that the one was thrown from the battlements of Troy, and killed: and the other fled with his father to Italy, and built the City Albā Longa. But there were Writers, who affirmed, that this account was by no means true. For they were the persons, who founded the City Scepsis below Mount Ida:

¹ Cap. 27. p. 140. See Anton. Liberalis.

² Ἡ δὲ Ἀρτεμις αὐτὴν ἐλπίσασα, κατὰ Φανοδημόν τοῦ Ἱστορικοῦ, εἰς Ἀρκτὸν μετεβάλε. κατὰ δὲ Νικάνδρον εἰς ταυρὸν, καθ' ἑτέρας εἰς γρᾶν, κατὰ ἄλλας εἰς ἐλάφον. Tzetzes ad Lycoph. v. 183.

and people of their family reigned there for a long season. ¹ Ἐστὶ δὲ ἡ μὲν παλαιὰ Σκηψίς, ἐπάνω Κεβρήνος κατὰ τὸ μετεωροτάτον τῆς Ἰδῆς-----ὑπὲρ δὲ κατωτέρῳ σταδίοις ἐξηκοντὰ εἰς τὴν νῦν Σκηψὶν μετεκισθῆσαν ὑπὸ Σκαμανδρίου τε καὶ Ἑκτορος, καὶ Ἀσκανίου τε Αἰνείας παῖδος. καὶ δύο γένη ταῦτα βασιλεύσαι πολὺν χρόνον ἐν τῇ Σκηψίᾳ λέγεται. *The more ancient City Scepsis stood above Cebrenia upon the highest part of Mount Ida.-----afterwards the inhabitants were removed sixty stadia lower to the City now called Scepsis: which was effected by Scamandrius the son of Hector, and by Ascanius, the son of Æneas. The posterity of these two persons are said to have reigned in Scepsis a long time. This history is given by Strabo, which he seems to have obtained from the people of the place: who were natives of Troas. It affords evidence of great consequence; which, if true, overturns the whole history of Æneas in Italy with all its appendages. And what reason can be given for its not being just as true as any other account, when we consider the source, from whence it is derived, and the ² people, who transmit it. It is farther supported in a great degree by the evidence of Homer: who says that the race of Priam was become hateful to the Gods, and intimates that his sons would be exterminated, and that the family of Æneas would succeed to the rule over the Trojans.*

Ἦδη γὰρ Πριάμῳ γενεὴν ἤχθηρε Κρονίων;

Νῦν δὲ δὴ Αἰνείαο βίῃ Τρῳεσσὶν ἀναξέει,

Καὶ παῖδες παίδων, τοὶ κεν μετοπίσθε γενώνται. IL. γ. 306.

For Priam now, and Priam's faithless kind

At length are odious to th' almighty mind.

On great Æneas shall devolve the reign:

And Sons succeeding sons his lasting line sustain. POPE.

¹ Strabo. Geog. L. 13. p. 904. B.

² Strabo of Amasia in Asia Minor and the people of Scepsis.

The account given by Homer of Polydorus, is represented very differently by other Writers. He is said to have been quite a youth, and the youngest son of ¹ Hecuba and Priam : who trusting to his fleetness passed too near to Achilles, and was slain by him.

———μετα πασι νεωτατος εσκε γονοιο,

Και οι φιλτατος εσκε, ποδεσσι δε παντας ενικα.

Τον εαλε μεσσον ακοντι ποδαρκης διος Αχιλλεως. IL. γ. v. 409, &c.

But ² Euripides, and Virgil, who copies from him, tell us, that Polydorus was not at this time at Troy : nor was he slain by Achilles. He had been sent to Thrace, to the protection of Polymnestor, the King of the Country, who basely murdered him. The history is given very precisely, and circumstantially on both sides : which renders the contrariety and inconsistency the more glaring. One party must be in the wrong : and I judge, that neither is in the right, but that the whole is intirely a fiction.

Other instances to no small amount might be brought of inconsistency among the writers, who have transmitted this history. These contradictions arose from the accounts being brought over at different times ; and adopted by people in various parts of the world. The Grecians of Hellas proper were disgusted with the barbarous names ; and either new fashioned them to their own taste in their histories, or introduced others from their own language, which were more agreeable to their prejudices. These variations in the history existed long before the time of Homer : for had there been none antecedently, there would probably have been none afterwards : because such was the superiour excellence of his poems, and so universal the reverence paid to them, that, I should think, nobody without proper authority, would have ventured to have deviated

¹ Euripides Hecuba. Ovid. Met. L. 13.

² Ibid.—Virgil Æneis. L. 3. v. 49. 50.

from them. They were a standard to which all looked up with veneration; till contrasted with prior evidence.

Inferences made from these ancient Accounts.

From the evidence above given, we may, I think, conclude, that the account concerning Troy was foreign to Greece; and imported from another region. For no genuine history of any Country was ever rendered so inconsistent by the Natives. There is no instance upon record. Variations, and mistakes will sometimes happen in different writings upon the same subject. But the history of Troy abounds with innumerable contradictions, and is fundamentally wrong; and utterly improbable. Had it been genuine, and the scene of action in that Country, where Homer places it, we should have had the true names of the persons, who were concerned on each side. But there is reason to think, that they are for the most part feigned. We are told by Isocrates, and the same is intimated by others, that the people of Phrygia were Βαρβαροι; that is not of the Hellenic race. But we find most of the names intirely Grecian. Hector, Antenor, Aftyanax, Archilochus, Laomedon, Alexander, Polydamas, Hypsenor, Aftynous, Andromache, Polydorus, with many others, are manifestly greek compounds. As he has given Grecian names, in like manner he has introduced into the Country the Deities of Greece. This is remarkable, and seems to indicate, that he was not so intimately acquainted with the people and their customs, as has been generally supposed. The chief objects of worship in this part of the world were Attis, and Cybele, called Rhea, Dyndymene, and Berecynthia, the Mother of the Gods. She was stiled Θεα ἡ Φρυγία. *The Phrygian Goddess:*
and

and her Priests were the Corybantes, the same as the Idæi Dactyli, and Curetes. But Homer makes Apollo the guardian God: and Minerva the chief Goddess, whose tutelary image was the Palladium. He accordingly mentions her Temple in the Citadel. ¹ Νηον Αθηναίης γλαυκωπίδος εν πολει ακρη. But this was not well devised. For the worship of Cybele, Mater Deorum, prevailed all over Phrygia long before Homer's time; and continued a great while after. ² 'Οι δε Βερεκυντες, Φρυγων τε φυλον, και απλως οι Φρυγες, και των Τρωων οι περι την Ιδην κατοικησες, 'Ρεαν μεν και αυτοι τιμωσι, και οργιαζουσι, Μητερα καλουντες Θεων, και Αιετιν, και Φρυγίαν Θεαν Μεγαλην, και Κυβελην. *The Bercynthians, and the community of the Phrygians, and all, who are included under that name; and all the Trojans near Mount Ida, reverence the Goddess Rhea, and perform their orgies in her name; styling her the Mother of the Gods, and Ajestis, the Great Phrygian Deity, the same as Cybele.*

We find, that she was the peculiar, and provincial Deity of Phrygia, and all the people near Mount Ida. To this worship Virgil alludes—

——— ³ *Qualis Bercynthia mater*
Invebitur curru Phrygias turrita per Urbes.

The Statue of Cybele, and her rites, were brought from Pessinuns to Rome in the time of the second Punic war. And as far as we can go back, the worship of this Deity prevailed universally among the people of Phrygia; and was the original religion of the Country, long before the supposed æra of Troy. In consequence of this Apollonius Rhodius with great propriety describes the Argonauts as paying their regard to the Deities of this region, of which Cybele was the chief. He repre-

¹ Z. v. 88.

² Strabo. L. 10. p. 718. see also p. 720. 721.—723. 724.

³ Virg. Æn. L. 6. v. 785. Κυβελη ορος Φρυγίης. Κυβελη μητηρ Θεων. Hesych.
Liv y. L. 29. C. 14.

sents them as making a statue out of a stump of a vine, which was mystical and significant; and then raising an altar to her honour.

¹ Βωμον δ' αὖ κεραδὸς παρηνήνεον, ἀμφὶ δὲ φύλλοις
 Σταψάμενοι δρυϊνοῖσι θύηπολιν ἐμελόντο,
 Μητέρα Δινδυμίνην πολυποτνίαν ἐγκαλέοντες,
 Ἐνναετὶν Φρυγίης, Τίτην δ' ἅμα, Κυλλήνοντες,
 Ὅτι μὲνοι πόλεων μοιρηγεται, ἡδὲ παρῆδροι
 Μητέρος Ἰδαίης κεκλήσεται.

They formed an altar out of the stones of the place, which they decorated with oak leaves, and then began their rites. During these they invoked the venerable Parent Dindymia, whose residence was in Phrygia: also Tetæa, and Cyllenus; under whose influence the Cities of that region lay, and whose inhabitants were esteemed the votaries and assessors of the Idean Mother.

² Julius Firmicus takes notice of the image, and it's peculiar construction, but says it was formed from a Pinetree. *In Sacris Phrygiis, quæ matris Deum dicunt, per annos singulos arbor pinea cæditur, et in mediâ arbore simulacrum Juvenis subligatur.*

From the account given of the Argonautæ we may conclude, that though Homer was a superiour Poet, Apollonius in this instance was a much better 3 Antiquary.

¹ Apollonius R. Argon. L. 1. v. 1124—See Orphic Hymns. 41. 46. 47.

² De Errore Profan Relig. C. 27. p. 53.

³ It may be said, that when Alexander came to the town of Ilium upon the sea coast, the chief Deity, was not Cybele, but, Ἀθηνᾶ, Minerva. This may be very true: but the worship was introduced, by the Ionian, or Æolian, Colonies, who got possession of those parts some centuries before the birth of Alexander. But the ancient and original worship still prevailed in general: and was not for several ages extinguished. Of Alexander's visit see Arrian. L. 1. p. 24. and p. 25.

Farther

Farther Arguments from the names of the Persons.

That the Phrygians were not at the times, to which we allude, of Grecian extraction, or at all related to them by blood, is manifest from the testimony of Herodotus. He was an Asiatic and a native of the same coast: and must have been acquainted with their history. He distinguishes them from the Helladians, and from all other nations. This he effects by saying that they vied in antiquity with the Egyptians: ¹ that the Egyptians allowed their priority; and esteemed their language to have been the most ancient of any. Whether this was literally true of their language I will not pretend to determine. Thus much is certain, that Herodotus esteemed the Phrygians to have been one of the most ancient nations by giving them the priority to Egypt. Now the Grecians never contended with the Egyptians about antiquity: for they were in great measure descended from them; and even the first settlements in the Isles of Iavan were posterior to the peopling of the land of Ham. They must therefore according to Herodotus be still later than the Phrygians. At all rates they were a distinct nation, and of another family. Hence as the Ionic and Æolic Colonies are supposed not to have been settled upon that Continent at the æra of Troy, no such Grecian names, as those, which Homer has introduced, could have subsisted in that part of the world. But he is not only guilty of this mistake in respect to the Phrygians of Troas, and those in their vicinity; but to all the Allies in general. He allows, that the multitude was various: and that different languages prevailed among them.

¹ Herod. L. 2. C. 2. p. 103.

¹ Πολλοί

¹ Πολλοὶ γὰρ κατὰ αὐτὸ μέγα Πριάμῃ επικεῖροι,

Ἀλλή δ' ἄλλων γλῶσσαι πολυσπερέων ἀνθρώπων.

Τοῖσιν ἕκαστος ἀνὴρ σημαίνεται, οἷσι περ ἀρχεῖ.

As the Auxiliaries about the City are many in number; and every nation has it's peculiar language; let every Commander give out orders to the body, to which he belongs.

Notwithstanding this he hardly ever gives us a foreign national appellation: but borrows all from Greece. We are told, that in the army of Hector there were ² Lycians, Mysians, Carians, Thracians, Pelasgi, Pæonians, and other different nations. Yet though he owns this, he gives them names from a language, to which they were totally strangers. Thus he calls the leaders of the Cicones, and other ² Thracians, Εὐφῆμος, Ἀκάμας, Πειρώς: the Chief of the Pæonians, Πυραϊχμης; of the Paphlagonians, Πυλαιομένης; of the Mæonians, Ἀντίφος, υἱὸς Πυλαιομένηος; of the Lycians, Γλαυκὸς υἱὸς Ἴππολυκκοῖο; of the Mysians Εὐνομος; Among the Lycians slain by ³ Patroclus are—Ερυμας, Ἀμφοτερος, Ἰφίς, Εὐίππος, Πολυμήλος, Θρασυμήδης, Τληπόλεμος. He speaks of the Carians in particular as ⁴ Βαρβαροφῶνοι; yet he gives their Leader a grecian name—Ἀμφιμαχος, τέκνον Νομιοῖος. Many more instances may be found to this purpose throughout the Ilias, and the Odyssey. This tends to confirm me more and more, that the history given by Homer in his poems was foreign both to Greece, and to Phrygia. Had it been genuine, the national names would have come unfought. But as he changed the scene of action, he was obliged to make an alteration in the names. And as he lived at a time, when the coast of Asia, from Rhodes to the Thracian Bosphorus, had been for some centuries

¹ Iliad L. B. v. 803.

² See the Catalogue L. B. from verse 840 to 870.

³ Π.—v. 415.

⁴ B.—v. 867.

occupied by Grecians, he took the current appellations, by which the natives were in his time distinguished. But as there still survived in Phrygia, Lycia, ¹ Lycaonia, Caria, and other Provinces, many of the original inhabitants, who retained their primitive language, it would have been worth his while to have searched, and borrowed from them; as it would have given his poem a greater appearance of truth.

Farther Considerations concerning names; and likewise of Families.

Homer seems to have been under some difficulties in forming the characters of his other Heroes, whom he brings from Greece. There were few histories before the Olympiads; and to these few very little trust was to be given. They were written in verse; and abounded with so much extravagance, that it was very difficult to separate the fiction from the truth. Pherecydes Syrus came after Homer, and is said to have been the first, who wrote in prose. And from his character, and from his fragments, we may judge concerning the histories of preceding times. The reason, that his work has been for the most part lost for ages, is, because it was not worth preserving. Besides there is reason to think, that at the supposed æra of the Trojan War, writing was not introduced into Hellas. The history of the Cadmian letters is very uncertain. At whatever time elementary characters may have been admitted, the antecedent gloom still remained, and all ancient events were veiled in obscurity. Plutarch observes, ² that Geographers in their descriptions of the Earth, when they

¹ The People of Lycaonia had preserved their particular language in the time of St. Paul. See Acts C. 14. v. 11.

² Plut. Isis et Osir.

come to the ultimate of their knowledge, put down in their charts, that all beyond is wild and barren, dark, and uncertain. In like manner historians, when they advance upwards towards the limits of traditional information, find all beyond equally barren, and wild; and encounter the like darkness, and uncertainty. Homer was engaged with such a period of obscurity: and as he was to transpose his history, and to adapt it to another age, and a different race of men; he was obliged to find out new names, and titles of distinction: all which were to be rendered consistent with the language, manners, and traditions of that people, for whom he wrote. In this he was assisted by the national accounts, as far as they could be obtained. At other times he invented names, and characters; and these he often made plausible, by some anecdotes, with which he embellished them, and by the genealogy of the persons concerned. But as these characters are in great measure fictitious, he seldom rises high in genealogy: but generally makes it terminate very soon in a deity. Thus Idomeneus of Crete was the son of Minos, the son of Jupiter. Polypætes the son of Pirithous the son of Jupiter. Tlepolemus the son of Hercules: Ascalaphus, and Ialmenus were the sons of Mars. Parthenius, the son of Hermes. Sarpedon the immediate son of Jupiter; from whom many others are sooner, or later, descended. Some are represented, as the sons of River Gods: among whom we find Menestheus, the son of Spercheius in Thessaly; and Asius, Axius, Stentor, and Scamandrius, of the like lineage in Asia, and Thrace. Satnius, Iphition, and Æsepus were born of ¹ Naïds: and Mesthles, and Antiphos, two Mæonians, of a ² lake.

¹ Σατνιον.—Ηιοπίδην ὃν ἀρὰ Νυμφῇ τεκε Νηϊς. IL. E. v. 444.

Βη δὲ κατ' Αἰσηπὸν, καὶ Πηδάσεν, ἕς ποτε Νυμφῇ

Νηϊς Ἀβάρβαρην τεκ' ἀμυμον Βηκελίωσι. Z. v. 22.

Οτρυντιάδην, πολεὼν ἡγήτορα λαῶν,

ὅν Νυμφῇ τεκε Νηϊς Οτρυντὴς πτολιπόρθω. T. v. 384.

² Τῆ Πυλαιμενεὸς, τῷ Γυγαίῃ τεκε Λίμνη. B. v. 865.

He introduces Agamemnon, as Commander in chief, whom he stiles ¹ *εὐρυκρείων*, and *Βασιλεὺς πολυχρυσοιο* ² *Μυκηνῆς*: *King of the rich City Mycene*. But there is no reason to think, that Mycene was ever a place of such wealth and ³ eminence, as Homer makes it: nor that any kingdom was of such extent, as that which he gives to this Monarch. Mycene was neither so ancient, nor powerful, as either Argos, or Lacedæmon. We have therefore no just grounds to suppose, that the people of Corinth, and Sicyon, and the twelve Cities of Achaia, and additionally to these, all Arcadia, could in those early times be subordinate to a place of so little repute. For all its primitive splendor seems to be intirely fictitious: and to be found only in Homer. The wide rule given to it is contradicted by the histories of Corinth, and other Cities; as may be inferred from Plutarch, Strabo, and other Writers.

Homer borrowed the names of many of his Heroes from provincial Deities, known in his time; and whose names he had obtained in his various peregrinations. Among others Achilles, Hector, Sarpedon, Ulysses, Helena, Castor, were reputed Deities; who had their shrines, and altars. Agamemnon was the title of a God, esteemed at Sparta, and in some other places, the same as *Ζεὺς*, or Jupiter. He was stiled *εὐρυκρείων* and *εὐρυμέδων*, of an extensive rule and dominion: and from this circumstance the Poet has given to his Hero the wide command, of which we have been speaking; and made him sovereign over the greater part of the Peloponnesus. Staphylus Naucratis, who was of Egypt, mentions, that the

¹ IL. A. v. 102. 355.—passim.

² IL. H. v. 180.

³ Thucydides mentions it as a mean place, *Μυκηνὰν μικρὸν ἦν*; but supposes it was once of more repute, but gives no reason. L. 1. C. 10. P. 9.

name Agamemnon was a sacred title, under which the Lacedæmonian Jupiter was worshipped. Of this Clemens Alexandrinus takes notice ¹ *Ἀγαμέμνονα γοῦν τινα Δία ἐν Σπάρτῃ τιμασθαι Σταφύλος ἰστέρι.* *Staphylus mentions, that a certain Agamemnon Jupiter, was worshipped at Sparta.* Lycophron in one part of his work intimates the contrary, and says that the Deity, to whom the Spartans paid these divine honours, was the great Commander at Troy. Cassandra whom Agamemnon married, is accordingly made to say,—

² Ἔμῳ δ' ἀκοιτῆς, δμῳίδος Νυμφῆς ἀναξ,

Ζεὺς Σπαρτιάταις αἰμυλοῖς κληθήσεται.

My husband too, who will take me, though a captive, to his bed, will be stiled Agamemnon Jupiter by the Spartans.

Meursius, Canterus, and Potter, follow Lycophron and say, that many Princes, and other Personages, took upon them the titles of Gods. This may be true. But Staphylus the historian does not tell us that Agamemnon the Hero, but that Jupiter Agamemnon was the real object of worship. The same is to be found in Athenagoras—

³ Ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος Ἀγαμέμνονα Δία (προσκυνεῖ)

The Lacedæmonian worships an Agamemnon Jupiter.

He does not say—*Ἀγαμέμνονα Ἡρώα, ὡς Θεόν*; but *Ἀγαμέμνονα Δία προσκυνεῖ*—*a Jupiter called Agamemnon.* It is therefore wonderful, that Lycophron should have expressed himself above in the manner mentioned; when in another place antecedently, he had given evidence to the contrary, and in terms, as plain, as could be wished: and this evidence is confirmed by

¹ Cohort. P. 32.

² Lycophron. v. 1123.

³ Legatio. P. 279.

his Scholiast. The passage is in that part, where the Poet is speaking of Priam, who was slain at the tumulus or altar of Jupiter Hircius.

¹ 'Ο δ' ἀμφὶ τυμβῷ τε ² γαμεμονος δαμεις

Κρηπίδα πηγῶν νερθε καλλυνει πλοκάμ.

The unfortunate Priam will be slain at the altar of Agamemnon, and grace it's basis with his hoary hair.

We find, that the history could not relate to the Hero: who was neither deified; nor dead at that time. It was more ancient; and it accordingly occurs at Troy; a part of the world quite foreign to Sparta: Here the Natives made it, according to this Poet, an additional title of their chief Deity; the same as Jupiter, Ἑρκιος, Hircius. Agamemnon Ζεὺς, was likewise to be found in the vicinity of Athens, where a Tribe, named Lapersai, worshipped Jupiter with this title annexed. ³ Λαπερσαι, δῆμος Ἀττικῆς, ἐνθα Διὸς Ἀγαμεμνονος ἐστὶν ἱερόν. *The Lapersæ are a Tribe in Attica where there is a Temple of Jupiter Agamemnon.* Upon which the Scholiast farther observes—⁴ Ὁμωνυμος οὖν τῷ Λαπερσίῳ Διὶ Ἀγαμεμνων ὅσις ἐπὶ Τροίαν ἐστράτευσεν. *Agamemnon, who engaged in the expedition to Troy, had the same name and secondary title, as the Jupiter of the Lapersians in Attica.* From this it is plain, that Agamemnon the Hero, and Agamemnon Jupiter, were two distinct persons, and the Hero was denominated from the Deity: Mention likewise is made by Eustathius of Jupiter Agamemnon at Sparta. ⁵ Δοκεὶ εὐλογῶς παρὰ Λακῶσι Ζεὺς Ἀγαμεμνων ἐπιθετικῶς εἶναι. Ἀγαμεμνων γὰρ Εὐρυκρείων, καὶ Ζεὺς Εὐρυμέδων. *There seems to have been some propriety in the*

¹ Cassandra. v. 335. This inconsistency confirms me in the opinion which I always held, that the latter part of the Cassandra has suffered some alteration.

² Instead of τ' Ἀγαμεμνονος—

³ Scholia ad Lycophron. v. 1369.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Eustathius in Homerum. IL. B. p. 127.

Lacedemonians, when they added to Jupiter the epithet Agamemnon: for Agamemnon had wide rule; and Jupiter extensive command. He seems however to make a distinction, where there was no difference, by saying, that *ευρυκρειων* belonged to the Hero, and *ευρυμεδων* to the God: whereas, it is manifest, that one person only was worshipped; and these epithets belonged to that one: who was the same as the Jupiter Hircius at Ilium, and Jupiter Agamemnon of the Laperfæ in Attica. When therefore Homer borrowed this secondary title, *Αγαμεμνων*, for the Leader of his armies, he had an eye to those epithets of the Spartan Jupiter: and to these were owing the high rule, and extensive Dominion, which he gave to his Hero. For he attributed to him not only the sovereignty of Corinth, Arcadia, and Achaia, but also ¹ *πολλαισιν νησοισι, και Αργεϊ παντι ανασσειν: to rule over many islands in the Egean Sea; and over all Argolis.* But the whole is ideal. No such extensive dominion existed in those times. The supposition is contrary to all ancient history.

The purport of the term Agamemnon.

I suspect, that the name *Agamemnon* is an Egyptian compound; and consequently imported into Greece. It related to the Deity Memnon, said to be the same as Osymandis; whose splendid Temple at Thebes was denominated from him ² Memnonium, and who was himself stiled ³ *Βασιλεως Βασιλεων*, *King of Kings.* The Deity, and the worship, were probably first brought to Argos and Lacedæmon by the Danaïdæ and Melampodes, when they came from Egypt: For though the Poet adopted a great num-

¹ Il. B. v. 108.

² Diodorus Sic. L. 2. P. 109. Rhodom.

³ Hecataeus Abderites apud Suidam.

ber of new names for his Heroes, yet he retained some, which were apparently from that part of the world. Diodorus Siculus tells us that among the Athenian families several were of Egyptian extraction. ¹ Τον γὰρ Πέτην τον πατέρα Μενεσθεως τε στρατευσαντες εις Τροίαν Φανερωσ Αιγυπτιον υπαρξαντα κ. τ. λ. Diodorus is certainly in the right: for Petes, or rather Pete, was a religious title; and is to be found prefixed to the names of Priests in Egypt, as well as in Persis, of which I have elsewhere given many instances. Menestheus also the son of Petes was apparently of the same original. It is a compound of Menes-theuth, or Menes Deus, *the God Menes*. For ² Plato informs us, that by Θευθ, Theuth, was by the Egyptians signified the Deity: from whence came Θεος of the Greeks, and Deus of the Latines. In like manner Menelaus was an Egyptian appellation, which Homer imported from a Province of that Country, called Menelaïtes. Some have thought that the Grecian Menelaus during his detention in the river Nile, gave name to the region. But the history of Menelaus in Egypt is a fable. How is it possible to be conceived, that a person driven by stress of weather, with a parcel of shattered ships, into an harbour, should be able to bequeath his name to a large province in an extensive and well established Kingdom: and to found there the principal City; which he seems immediately to have abandoned. Dion Chrysostom says very truly—³ Νομος απ' αυτε καλεμενος, εκ αν, ει πεπλανημενος, και προς ολιγον αφικετο. By which is meant, that no chance adventurer, and interloper, during his temporary abode, could have given name to a Nome of Egypt.

¹ Diod. Sic. L. 1. P. 25.

² Plato in Ephebo—εν Αιγυπτω Θευθ. Vol. 2. P. 18. See Philo apud Euseb. P. E. L. 1. C. 9. P. 32. Clemens. Strom. L. 1. P. 356. Θευθ and Θεωθ—the same as Hermes.

³ Dion Chrysostom. Orat. xi. P. 188.

Men-el-ai, from whence the Grecians formed Menelaus and Menelaïtes, Μενελαϊτης, is literally—Menis Dei Nomus, or Infula.

I have mentioned my opinion, that Agamemnon was an Egyptian compound, and related to Memnon, the Deity of Thebes. Aga seems to have been an ancient title for a Leader, analogous to *Agos* of the Greeks. It is found in the composition of many names, such as Agenor, Agamedes, Agamestor, Agathyrfus, and the name before us: by which was signified—Dux Memnon. *Agos Ἡγεμῶν, Agoi, ἡγεμονες. Agos τιμιωτάτον. Hefychius. Αγεσίλαος—ειρηται απο τῶ ἀγειν τῆς λαῶς. Phavorinus.*

Of the Chief Heroes in the Grecian Army, and of their extraordinary preservation.

Another difficulty, which, I believe, can never be satisfactorily cleared up, is the preservation of the Chief Leaders for so long a time, when we consider the circumstances, in which they were engaged. Homer calls them *Ἡγεμονες* and *Κοιράναι*, *Generals and Commanders*, who survived all the dangers and vicissitudes of war, a much longer time, than common experience warrants. They came from different Provinces of Greece, and are for the most part mentioned in the catalogue given in the second book by the Poet, and occur again in the course of the poem. Their number appears to be forty six: but as there are others of great note not mentioned there, these must be added to that list. Such are the sons of Nestor, Antilochus, and Thrasymedes; and the five Leaders under Achilles, mentioned as persons of great prowess; also Patroclus, and Automedon, still superiour. II. v. 171, and 219. These are in number nine, which makes the total of the principal persons in the poem no less than fifty five. All these are specified as alive in the tenth year of the war, excepting one person. It seems, he was the first, who stepped on shore upon

L

their

their landing, and was slain by Hector. He was upon this account called Protefilaus: by which we find that the name is fictitious, and a strong intimation is given, that his history is a fable. The Heroes then, who survived, are in number fifty and four. Now as these were all in a state of full manhood, and some of them advanced in years, how comes it that not one of them should be killed in the course of nine years and more? The only reason, that can be given, is the same that has been brought before: by which we are told, that no operations against the City commenced till the tenth year. They could not be killed, if they never fought. To this the same answer must be given, which was urged before, that the history is past all belief. And though some expeditions are mentioned to have been undertaken at a distance, yet that excuse will not prove sufficient for the nine years inactivity of the main army, when the City and enemy were before them. But let us grant, that they might escape the dangers of battle: yet what could preserve them from the other contingences of war, such as sickness and accidents of various kinds. It is not to be credited, that out of fifty four persons of different ages, exposed to the inconveniences of a Camp near a marsh, and to winter campaigns, the pestilence at one time raging, not one should be taken off in nine years. These circumstances, though they may be palliated, and extenuated by those, who wish to be deceived, yet are of themselves sufficient to overturn the whole history of Troy and its siege.

Recapitulation.

Recapitulation.

From this series of evidence I have been led to form these conclusions concerning the armament of the Grecians, and of the War, as described by Homer: and have determined it to be a mere fiction. I have shewn, that in those early times no such remote alliances could have been formed, as have been described by the Poet; nor could any such distant correspondence have subsisted. For according to Thucydides, and Plutarch, and other the best Historians, Greece was in a very unsettled state at that time; and overrun by the wandering Pelasgi, and a race of formidable Banditti. Hence this great armament is as incredible, as the cause of it is ridiculous. There is no accounting for the inactivity of the Grecians, when they were landed before Troy; nor for their wasting their time upon foreign objects: and neglecting the Town, against which they had encamped, and where all their views centered. In short according to Homer the place was not taken till after nine years, which by his own evidence might have been stormed in a few hours. The very subsisting of an army for nearly ten years in a foreign Country, and without recruits is not to be believed: and the duration of the ships for so long a season is alike incredible. During this time no correspondence was kept up with their mother Country: Achilles knew nothing of his Father, though at the distance of about three days sail: and he was ignorant of his son, who was still nearer. And if the duration of the Ships is incredible, the duration of the Heroes is more extraordinary: both past all belief.

*The opinions of some learned Persons among the Ancients,
concerning both the City and War of Troy.*

In consequence of these inconsistencies and the contradictory accounts of different Writers, Dion. Chrysostom was induced to write his ¹ Oration *περι τῆς Ἰλίου μὴ ἄλυναι*. But we have far earlier authority, and of more weight, than can be obtained from this Writer, however learned. It is the attestation of that great Philosopher, Anaxagoras the Preceptor of Socrates who was born very early, about the LXX Olympiad. He resided during the latter part of his life at ² Lampfacus; which was a City of Phrygia upon the Hellespont; and by many included in the particular region called Troas: where Troy was supposed to have stood. As he was in the vicinity of Ilium at the distance of a ³ few miles; he had every opportunity to get intelligence: and must have obtained the best grounds to form his opinion. And his opinion was, that the whole Poem was an allegory. Of this we are informed by Phavorinus, and ⁴ Diogenes Laertius. *Δοκεῖ πρῶτος ὁ Ἀναξαγόρας (καθὰ φησι Φαβρίνιος ἐν παντοδαπῇ ἱστορίᾳ) τὴν Ὅμηρον ποιήσιν ἀποφῆναι εἶναι περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ δικαιοσύνης.* *He was the first, as we are informed by Phavorinus in his various history, who gave out, that the poems of Homer were an allegorical description of Virtue and Justice.* He says that Anaxagoras was the first: hence we learn, that there were ⁵ others afterwards, who took the whole to have been an apologue; and

¹ Orat. xi. P. 151.

² Lampfacus in Troas. Strabo. L. 13. P. 879,—9.

³ From Lampfacus to Abydus were 24 miles: to Dardanum, 9. to Ilium 12 = 45.

⁴ Diogenes Laertius. L. 2. P. 86. Anaxagoras.

⁵ Athenæus. L. 12. P. 510. and 511.

among these was Zeno. A person likewise in ¹ Athenæus mentions it as his opinion, that the purport was morality. This prevailed long afterwards; as appears from Basil the Great. ² Πασα ἡ ποιησις τοῦ Ὁμήρου ἀρετῆς ἐστὶν ἐπαινος, καὶ πάντα αὐτὸς πρὸς τὸ τοῦτο φέρει. *The whole, that Homer has written is an encomium upon Virtue: every part of the Poem tends to that purpose,* There were still others of early date who did not believe the war to have been a real event, though they differed about the purport; and supposed, that the Deities introduced by the Poet were merely physical qualities.—³ κατὰ δὲ τὸν φυσικὸν λόγον Ἀπολλῶν ἥλιος ὡς ἀναπίνει τὰ ὕγρὰ στοιχεῖα. Ἀθηνᾶ δὲ ἐστὶ φρονησις.—Ἄρης δὲ ἀφροσύνη.—Ἥρῃ δὲ ἐστὶν ἀήρ. Ἀρτεμὶς δὲ Σελήνη.—Ἑρμῆς δὲ ὁ λόγος. Ἀθῆνῃ δὲ ἀφροσύνη. Ἡφαίστος δὲ τὸ πῦρ. Ξανθὸς δὲ τὸ ὕδρον. Diogenes Laertius proceeds to tell us, that Anaxagoras was greatly confirmed in his opinion of it's being an allegory by a friend at the same place—⁴ ἐπὶ πλεον δευροσηναι τοῦ λόγου Μητροδώρον τὸν Λαμψακηνόν, γνωρίμον ὄντα αὐτῷ, ὃν καὶ πρῶτον σπουδασαὶ τοῦ Ποιητῆς περὶ τὴν φυσικὴν πραγματείαν. *Metrodorus of Lampsacus, who was the acquaintance of Anaxagoras contributed much to his opinion: For he was the first, who endeavoured to shew, that the purpose of the Poet was concerning the works of nature.*

He accordingly imagined, that Agamemnon was the air, and no real person. Ἀγαμέμνονα τὸν αἶρα Μητροδώρος εἶπεν ἀλληγορικῶς. *Metrodorus esteemed Agamemnon to be allegorically the air:* Hesychius, Tatianus Assyrius p. 262. mentions Metrodorus, and gives attestation to his opinion, though he does not approve of it. Μητροδώρος δὲ ὁ Λαμψακηνὸς ἐν τῷ περὶ Ὁμήρου λιβαν εὐκρίτως διεκλήλει, πᾶντα εἰς ἀλληγορίαν μεταγών, οὔτε γὰρ Ἥραν, οὔτε Ἀθηνᾶν, οὔτε Δία, τὰτ' εἶναι φησιν, ὅπερ οἱ τὰς περιβολὰς αὐτοῖς, καὶ

¹ Ibid.

² Basil Magnus—πρὸς τοὺς Νέεσι.

³ Scholia in IL. γ. v. 74.

⁴ Diog. Laërt. L. 2. P. 86. Anaxagoræ.

τεμενη καθιδρυσαντες νομιζουσι, Φυσεως δε υποσασεις, και σοιχειων διακοσμησεις· και τον
 'Εκτορα δε, και τον Αχιλλεα δηλαδη, και τον Αγαμεμνονα, και παντας απαξαπλως
 'Ελληνας τε, και βαρβαρους, συν τη 'Ελενη, και τω Παριδι, της αυτης Φυσεως υπαρχον-
 τας χαριν οικονομιας ερειτε παρεισηχθαι, ουδενος οντος των ειρημενων ανθρωπων. *Met-*
rodorus of Lampsacus talks very idly in his treatise upon Homer, in which
he tries to turn every thing to allegory. For he does not believe, that Juno,
or Minerva, or Jupiter were those personages, in honour of whom people have
built so many sacred inclosures, and temples; but physical substances, and ele-
mentary phænomena. In consequence of this you will be obliged to allow, that
Hector, Achilles, and Agamemnon, and the whole assemblage of Greeks, as well
as Barbarians, together with Helena and Paris, related all to nature, and
were indirectly brought upon the Stage to denote physical æconomy: inasmuch as
no such persons ever really existed. I shall say nothing of this learned
Writer's mode of argument. Let it suffice, that he speaks of the hypo-
thesis about nature and natural causes, as idle and foolish: and it may
be ill grounded. But this is of no consequence in the present inquiry.
It is manifest from this very Author, that Metrodorus placed no faith in
the history of the Trojan war: and we have seen that Anaxagoras paid
as little regard to it. They therefore tried to find out expedients, in
order to explain the purpose of the Poet. In this they differed from each
other; and may have been both equally wide of the mark. But in the
main article, with which only we are concerned, they agree perfectly;
and intimate strongly, that there was no such war, as is described by
Homer, and that all the persons supposed to have been engaged in it
were fictitious. The cause of the war according to all the Poets was the
Judgment of Paris, and his decision in favour of Venus. And though
many in the later times of Greece may have looked upon this as a true
history: yet those of more early days esteemed the whole as a fable.
 They

They maintained that it was a mere allegory, and signified a contention between virtue and vice. Accordingly a person in Athenæus says—¹ Εγὼ δὲ φημι, καὶ τὴν τῆς Παρίδος κρίσιν ὑπὸ τῶν παλαιότερων πεποιηθῆαι ἡδονῆς πρὸς ἀρετῆς οὖσαν συγκρίσιν. *I assert, that the judgment of Paris was among the more early people of Greece looked upon, as merely a contest between Virtue and Vice.* But if the grounds of the war were ideal, why should we blame those learned men, Metrodorus and Anaxagoras for making the war itself allegorical? Their evidence cannot possibly be controverted.

As I have before mentioned, they lived in Phrygia; and in, or very near, that particular part, called afterwards ² Troas. The coast, which was of no great extent, must have been intirely known to them. They had every advantage towards making an accurate inquiry; and as they were men of great knowledge, and curiosity, they would hardly omit any opportunity of information. We may therefore fairly presume, that they were not unacquainted with the pretended scene of action, which was in their neighbourhood. In their views and inquiries they could find nothing satisfactory. One reason undoubtedly was, because neither any remains of Troy, nor the name of the place itself, were to be found in the whole region. The evidence of these two persons, both from their character, and situation, is attended with great weight. And they maintained, that no such war, as is described by Homer, between the Grecians and Trojans, was ever carried on. Their evidence is so circumstanced and so decisive, that I do not see, how it is possible to set it aside. It would have been sufficient singly to have overturned the whole hypothesis of Troy.

¹ Athenæus. L. 12. P. 510.

² Strabo L. 13. P. 881. 2.

Thus

Thus the most ancient Writers, who were of Asia, and consequently the best judges, either deny the principal events of this War, or totally reject it. Herodotus, the Father of History was of this part of the world, and thinks there may have been some expedition against the people of Phrygia, whom he calls Teucri. But he still insists, that Helena was never there. And whereas there were some Cyprian verses, which mentioned her being carried to Ilium, he holds them in no estimation. On the contrary he rejects them with the utmost contempt, and shews as little respect for Homer; whom he looks upon as equally fabulous. He accordingly says with the utmost disdain——² Ὅμηρος μὲν νῦν καὶ τὰ Κυπρία ἐπεὰ χαιρετῶ. *Away with them together: a long farewell to each, both to the Cyprian verses and Homer.* Euripides likewise affirms, that Helena never was at Troy.—³ εἰδ' ἦλθε Φρυγίας. She was never seen in that Country. In consequence of these contradictions Scaliger says very justly of the Grecians ----⁴ *Usque adeo nullus nugandi modus, nullus pudor horas in his perdendi fuit Græculis istis, qui nihil disertum sine mendacio esse putarunt.* If then Helena never was at Troy, the Expedition, and ten years siege on her account must necessarily come to nothing. Two Plays of Euripides, the Electra above mentioned, and the Helena, are founded upon this principle, that she was never there, but that a cloud, and a phantom, was substituted in her place. In short the whole history of Troy is a cloud, and every Hero a phantom.

¹ Herod. L. 2. C. 118. P. 157.

² Ibid.

³ Electra v. 1281.

⁴ Animadversiones in Euseb. Chron. Appendix P. 49.

⁵ Νεφέλης ἀγαλμα. Helena. v. 1235.

⁶ Οὐκ ἦλθον εἰς γῆν Τρωαδ', ἀλλ' εἰδῶλον ἦν. v. 588.

Besides

Beside these Writers there was a learned Female, Hestiaæ Alexandrina; who wrote concerning ¹ Troy, but could never find out, where it was situated. It is remarkable, that she was a native of the very City Troas, opposite to Tenedos, and near Mount Lectum, a part of the Country, where Troy, if it had ever existed, must have stood. She lived within a mile or two of the very spot, to which Homer seems to assign it; but made no discoveries here, nor any where else. In respect to the City Ilium above, which appears to many to have the best claim, she like Demetrius and Strabo shewed from it's situation, that it could not possibly be the Troy of ² Homer. This is the evidence of a native of the very district: and if there were no City, there could be no war.

Nor was this the opinion of Herodotus only, but of Stesichorus also, who was much earlier than Herodotus, and the Writers above: for he wrote about the 42d. Olympiad. Dion Chrysostom says, ³ Τον μὲν Στησιχορον ἐν τῇ ὑστερῇ ᾠδῇ λέγειν, ὅτι τὸ παρὰ πᾶν εἶδε πλεῦσεῖν ἢ Ἑλένην εἰδαμῶσε. *Stesichorus maintained---that Helena was never upon the sea,* The authority of Stesichorus is of great weight, as he was a serious Writer and so early. It is however said, that he was struck ⁴ blind by Venus, and retracted all that he had affirmed. But this idle fable carries with it it's own confutation. Besides Dion Chrysostom tells us, that this assertion about Helena was ⁵ ἐν τῇ ὑστερῇ ᾠδῇ, *in one of his last compositions*, and as, I understand it, after he was blind: which precludes all supposition, that the misfortune was a judgment. But we must at all rates set aside this

¹ Strabo L. 13. P. 900.

² Ibid. P. 894.

³ Dion. Chrysostom. Orat. xi. P. 162.

⁴ Conon apud Photium. P. 432. Tertullian de Animâ. P. 290. C.

⁵ Dion Chrysostom. P. 186. Photius. P. 431.

idle notion of judicial blindness, and abide by the original opinion of that very early Writer Stefichorus. From him we learn for certain, that the rape of Helena was a fable.

May we not therefore say with Chrysoftom, after he had dwelt long upon these inconsistent histories.—*Ἔταυτα ἔκ ἐνυπνίου εἰκόλα τῷ ὄντι, καὶ ἀπίθανοις ψευδοῖς; Do they not all appear to be nothing but illusions, mere dreams, and incredible tales?* The same Author adds soon after, the whole history is so extravagant----*ὥς καὶ τὴν Ὅμηρον ποιήσιν ὁρθῶς ἂν τινα εἶπειν ἐνυπνιον, καὶ τέτο ἀκριτον, καὶ ἀσαφές*----*that the poems of Homer at large may be justly esteemed a mere dream, and that dream very indeterminate and obscure.* Let us then awake from these illusions, and at last submit to the truth.
3. Cujusvis hominis est errare: nullius, nisi insipientis, in errore perseverare. Were any modern history of whatever Country, attended with the fiftieth part of the inconsistencies, with which the war of Troy abounds, it would be set aside at once, and rejected with scorn.

Concerning the argument, which is founded upon the many memorials of the Trojan War supposed to have been extant in different parts of the world.

It is imagined, that one great proof of the Trojan war may be obtained from the settlements made in various parts of the earth, by the people, who had been engaged on each side. This notion is countenanced by the names of those settlements, and of the cities there founded: for by these

¹ Dion. Chryst. Orat. xi. P. 186.

² Ibid.

³ Cicero Philip. xii. C. 2. P. 697. Gronovii.

memorials the history of those emigrants is said to be plainly traced out. But the misfortune is, that these histories are superabundant; and defeat the purpose for which they were introduced, and ruin all credibility. The accounts of these perigrinations, and settlements are so extraordinary, that nothing similar can be found in the annals of the world. After conquest, those, who are subdued, are generally reduced to such a state, as to be little able, or desirous, to make foreign expeditions. When the enemy has left them, and their Country intirely, they have no occasion to look out for new settlements, for they have more ground, than they can well occupy after having been thinned by war. There is not the least reason for them to quit the land of their Ancestors. On the other hand the Victors must be glad to return to their native homes; and to enjoy all those family connexions, from which they have been separated so long, and which are so dear among men. But after the ruin of Troy there seems to have been a general dissipation both of the Conquerors, and Conquered: who are alike scattered over the face of the earth. ¹ Homer intimates strongly, that Æneas remained in his native Country, and there reigned, and his ² posterity after him. But other Writers maintain, that he fled to Italy, and founded a kingdom in Latium.

Some denied this, and insisted, that he settled with his son Ascanius near ³ Olympus in Macedonia: while others held, that he retired towards Mantinea in Arcadia, where he built a City, called ⁴ Capuæ. I have before mentioned that the people of Scepsis, who lived in the region of Troas, would not allow, that Ascanius ever left the Country; so that the whole of his going to Italy, and founding Alba Longa was a fable. They main-

¹ Homer Il. γ. v. 307.

² Strabo. L. 13. P. 906.

³ Του μεν Αινειαν μετ' Αγχιστη πατρος, και τη παιδος λαον αθροισαντα πλευσαι· και οι μεν οικησαι περι του Μακεδονικου Ολυμπου φασιν, οι δε περι την Μαντινειαν της Αρκαδιας κτισαι Καπυας. Strabo L. 13. P. 905.

⁴ Ibid.

tained, that Scepsis was the City of Æneas; and the later Scepsis was built jointly by his son, and by Aftyanax, the son of Hector; and that they both reigned ¹ there. A like kingdom was founded by Helenus in ² Epirus, and Chaonia: and another by ³ Antenor upon the Eridanus at the upper part of the Adriatic. Menelaus was driven to ⁴ Egypt, where he built a City, and founded a Colony in a large Province, which was denominated from him Menelaïtes. Some of his Captives passed higher up (by whose permission we know not) and built Troja Ægyptiaca upon the Arabian side of the ⁵ Nile. He also visited Iapygia, where he made an ⁶ offering of his wives old shoes. It is said, that Idomeneus settled in the Regio ⁷ Salentina: and ⁸ Philoctetes near him in the province of Lucania. Diomedes, who came from Argos, betook himself to Arpi in ⁹ Daunia, where he is said to have built Arguripæ, and Canusium. Hard by, Metabus with a body of Pylians from Nestor's army, founded ¹⁰ Metapontum. Pyrrhus got possession of ¹¹ Epirus: and Phidippus built Ephyra in the same part of the world. Even Agamemnon, supposed to be forced by stress of weather into Crète, built three ¹² cities in that island, which is said to have had one ¹³ hundred before. A body of Locrians got possession

¹ Ibid. P. 904.

² Priamiden Helenum Graias regnare per Urbes. Virg. Æn. L. 3. v. 295.

³ Strabo. L. 1. P. 83.—L. 13. P. 905.

⁴ Homer Odyss. L. Δ. v. 351.—Strabo L. 17. P. 1155. C. Pliny, L. 5. C. 31. P. 283.

⁵ Strabo. L. 17. P. 1152.

⁶ Lycophron. v. 855.—δαμαρτος ασκερας——

—— See the Scholia.

Ασκειραι, γινος υποδηματων. Hesych.

⁷ Virgil. Æn. L. 3. v. 400.

⁸ Strabo. L. 6. P. 390. Virgil. L. 3. v. 402.

⁹ Strabo. L. 6. P. 434. Lycophron and Scholia. v. 592.

¹⁰ Velleius Paterculus. L. 1. C. 1. P. 1. also Steph. Byzant.

¹¹ Velleius ibid.

¹² Mycen, Tegea, Pergamum. ibid

¹³ Called εκατομπολις Ibid. B. v. 649.

of part of ¹ Bruttia towards the extremity of Italy: and another body of them (for what reason is not well known) passed over to ² Africa: and there took up their habitation. A party of Bœotians went as far as the Gymnasiæ or ³ Balearic Islands: for what reason is equally unknown. Teucer was of the small island Salamis: which, one would imagine, after such a war could not have been sufficiently populous to have sent out Colonies. Yet we are told that he retired to Cyprus, and there built ⁴ Salamis Nova. Some time after he is said to have betaken himself to Spain, a voyage in those times of no small length: and there to have built Carthago Nova. Hence we read in Silius Italicus——

⁵ Dat Carthago viros, Teucro fundata vetusto.

And as if this were not sufficient, the same person with some of that body, which had served under him, passed the straits of Hercules, and proceeded as high up as ⁶ Gallicia: where they built a city named Hellenis, and another called ⁷ Amphilochus. All which is incredible.

Let us now come to Ulysses, who, we are told, was carried to the coast of Barca and ⁸ Cyrene in Libya. And that he was in Spain, is maintained from a City upon the Atlantic Ocean between the Tagus, and the river Anas in the Country of the ⁹ Turditani. Strabo mentions many places in it's vicinity: but says, that it stood above them all, in a mountainous

¹ Hic et Naricii posuerunt mœnia Locri Virg. L. 3. v. 399. See Servius.

²——Libycone habitantes littore Locros. Virg. L. xi. v. 265.

³ Lycophron. v. 633. See the Scholia.

⁴——ambiguam tellure novâ Salamina. Horace. L. i. O. 7. v. 28. Strabo. L. 14. P. 1001. B.

⁵ Sil. Italicus. L. 3. v. 368.

⁶ Strabo. L. 3. P. 236, 7. See Justin. L. 44. C. 3. P. 612. Delph.

⁷ Strabo ibid.

⁸ Ulyssis ara. Strabo. L. 17. P. 1195. Βωμος Οδυσσειως. Της δ' ἀμφὶ Συρτιῇ, καὶ Λιβυτικῆς πλάκας.
Also Lycophron. v. 648.—See Scholia.

⁹ Strabo. L. 3. P. 223.

region :

region: and that it was called Odyſſea. It received it's name, as we find it intimated, from Ulyſſes, who, founded this City, and a Temple of Minerva: *ἡ ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν τοπῶν ἐν τῇ ὀρεινῇ δεικνύται Ὀδυσσεΐα, καὶ τὸ ἱερόν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐν αὐτῇ.* The Author affords the testimony of Poſidonius, and Artemidorus, in proof of this history: and also of Aſclepius Myrleanus, who lived in that Country: *Ὁς δὲ φησὶν ὑπομνηματα τῆς πλάνης τῆς Ὀδυσσεως ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, ἀσπίδας προσπέπατταλευσθαι, καὶ ἀκροσολία.* *He affirmed, that in the Temple of Minerva were monuments of Ulyſſes and of his wandering, such as shields, and the brazen prows of ships.* Thus we find, if we may credit the report, that there were several monuments of Ulyſſes, and his peregrinations, in this Temple of Minerva: and particularly the shields of his followers; and the prows of the ships, which he navigated. At this rate one would naturally suppose, that he took up his abode among the people of these parts: and bequeathed these monuments of his gratitude to the Goddess, who preserved him. But the whole is inconsistent with the current history of this Hero. If such a person ever existed, the most ample account of him is to be found in Homer. And he tells us, that after the ruin of Troy Ulyſſes departed in twelve Ships, and landed upon the opposite coast of ³ Iſmarian Thrace: which was little more than one day's sail. From hence, after having plundered the natives, he was driven off; and carried by a violent storm to the coast of the Lotophagi in Africa. In a day or two he departed from hence, and arrived in the Country of the Cyclopians, supposed to have been in Sicily. His stay here was very short, and in a few days we find him landed in the region of Æolus. In a month he went from thence for Ithaca: but was driven back to the place, which he had left, where he met with a cold reception.

¹ Strabo. L. 3. P. 236. and P. 223.

² Ibid.

³ Homer Odyſſ. I. v. 39, &c.

Being instantly dismissed, he quitted a second time the island of Æolus, and crossed over to the Country of the Læstrygons a Sicilian people.-----

¹ Λαιστρυγόνες, οἱ νυν Λεοντινοί. *The Læstrygons, who are now called Leontini.*

Hesych. Here he lost eleven ships, out of twelve; and all the crew were murdered. And the last and only ship left, was thunderstruck, and foundered somewhere near the coast of Sicily. How then could the Tur-ditani, a remote people in Spain, get those shields, and the prows from the ships of Ulysses? And how could this Hero have ever resided upon, or even reached, any coast upon the Atlantic, who, if we may trust to Homer, was never beyond the Circean promontory? Strabo adds, that according to many Writers, ² ἀλλὰ μυρία ἰχνη τῆς ἐκεῖν πλάνης, καὶ ἄλλων, τῶν ἐκ τῆς Τρωικῆς πολέμου γενομένων.----*there were in these parts numberless other tokens of the wandering of Ulysses, and of those events, which ensued after the war of Troy.* But if these other evidences, however numerous, were no better founded, than the former, they never can merit our confidence. Of whatever nature they may have been, the Writers, appealed to, think proper to conceal them.

¹ Τῶν περὶ Αἰτῶν (δυοῖς) κύκλωπας καὶ Λαιστρυγόνας, ἀξίους τινάς. Strabo. L. 1. P. 38. Thucydides. L. 6. C. 2. P. 378.

² Strabo. L. 3. P. 223. B.

Corollary.

Corollary.

There were undoubtedly many expeditions undertaken, and Colonies founded very early by the maritime powers of Tyre and Sidon, and some neighbouring Cities. But these operations were carried on by degrees, and in different ages. Whereas those, of which we have been treating, were performed nearly at the same time by fugitives from two exhausted armies. We have seen, that settlements are supposed after this war to have been made in Egypt, and Arabia: in Cyprus, and upon the coast of Africa: in several parts of Italy: and at the Balearic Islands: Also in Spain near the banks of the Iberus: and upon the Atlantic beyond Gades: and lastly in Gallicia, near the promontory, called now Cape Finisterre: which was looked upon, as the most western boundary of Europe. And most of these settlements were effected by the people mentioned within the space of seven or eight years; which is on many accounts incredible. Add to this, that the Hero of Salamis is said to have built Carthago Nova in Iberia: consequently it must have been founded some centuries before the more ancient City in Africa, from which it was named. This is inconsistent, and absurd, and confutes itself. Hence we may perceive, with what a series of fabulous histories the war of Troy is attended.

* Carthago Nova was built long after the supposed æra of Troy. It was of Punic original, and founded by that Asdrubal, who preceded Hamilcar of Barca. It was of late date in comparison of the other City; and still further removed from time of Troy. Καρχηδών ἡ νέα — κτίσμα Ασδρυβά. Strabo. L. 3. P. 238. C. Yet some have thought it built by Tæncer of Salamis.

Concerning

Concerning the Heroes, who were deified.

One circumstance is said to have ensued after this war of Troy, which, if true, would distinguish it from all other wars. Most of the principal persons engaged in it are said to have had after their deaths divine honours paid to them. And this not only in Greece, but in various parts of the world, whither, one would imagine, their names could never have reached; and where they could not at any rate have been entitled to such regard. Among those who were raised to these distinguished honours, was Sarpedon, who was worshipped at ¹ Rhodes: as Achilles was among the ² Getes upon the ³ Danube. Also Ναος ⁴ Αχιλλεως και αγαλμα——και δρομος Αχιλλεως. *The Temple and statue of Achilles——and a stadium denominated from him*, upon the Borysthenes. Hector was revered at ⁵ Thebes in Bœotia: and also at Ilium. ⁶ Ο μὲν Ιλιεύς Θεὸν Ἑκτορα λέγει, καὶ τὴν Ἑλένην Ἀδραστειαν ἐπισταμενὸς προσκυνεῖ. *The natives of Ilium worship Hector as a God: and Helena also, whom they esteem and reverence as the Goddess Adrastea.* Calchas and Podalyrius had Temples in ⁷ Iapygia: and Cassandra had a shrine in the same Country.—⁸ Ἱερόν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ. Merion and Idomeneus were worshipped in ⁹ Crete. Memnon had a Temple at Meroë in ¹⁰ Egypt. Protefilaus had divine honours

¹ Tertullian de Anima P. 299. See Scholia to the Nubes of Aristophanes. v. 622.

² Strabo L. ix. P. 756.

³ Dion. Chrysostom. Orat. 36. P. 439. Νεῶν, τὸν μὲν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τῇ Αχιλλεως καλυμμένη ἰδρυταί.

⁴ Strabo L. 7. P. 472.

⁵ Pausanias. L. 9. P. 746.

⁶ Athenagoræ Oratio. P. 279.

⁷ Lycophron v. 1047. and Scholia. v. 1050.

⁸ Κάσσανδρος Ἱερόν ἐστιν ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ. Lycophron. v. 1128. Schol.

⁹ Diodorus Siculus. L. 5. P. 345. C.

¹⁰ Philostratus. Icones. P. 672.

in ¹ Thrace: and Philoctetes in CEnotria of ² Italy. And a Temple of Diomedes is mentioned as high up as the ³ Timavus. Ajax was worshipped in ⁴ Attica ⁵; Machaon, and ⁶ Menelaus in Laconia. To these many others might be added, who are said to have had the like honours. Lycophron abounds with examples to this purpose. According to some Helena was killed by ⁷ Orestes: according to others she was hanged at ⁸ Rhodes. After all they worshipped her in Troas under the character of ⁹ Ἀδραστεια, or Nemesis; as we have before seen. In short the Ilienses are supposed to have paid divine honours to the very person, who according to Homer, had been the curse of the Country

The others, who have preceded in the list above, seem to have had as little pretensions to this extraordinary regard, as Helena: at least if we may believe Strabo. For their merits were but small; as they seem to have devoted themselves to piracy and thieving, and to have seized every thing, upon which they could lay their hands. The Author tells us, that all that they got by war, was soon expended—¹⁰ συνεβη γουν τοις περιλειφθεισιν απισιν εκ των κινδυνων κατα ληστειας τρεπεσθαι και τοις Ἑλλησι. *It therefore so happened, that many even of the Grecians, who survived the dangers of war were obliged to have recourse to piracy.* In consequence of this they are said to have kept this maxim uppermost in their minds,

¹ Lycophron. v. 532. See the Scholia.

² Ibid. v. 912. and Scholia.

³ Strabo. L. 5. P. 328.

⁴ Pausanias. L. 1. P. 85.

⁵ Pausanias. L. 4. P. 278.

⁶ Ibidem. L. 3. P. 259. also the Temple of Achilles.

⁷ Tatianus Assyrius. P. 252. who quotes Euripides.

⁸ Pausan. L. 3. P. 259.

⁹ Athenagoras. P. 279.

¹⁰ Strabo. L. 3. P. 223.

¹ Αἰσχρὸν τοὶ δῆρον τε μένειν, κενεὸν τε νεεσθαι.

It is a scandal to be absent so long, and to return empty. Strabo speaks of them to the same purpose in another place,—²ὥς μετὰ τὴν τῆς Ἰλίου κατὰ-
στροφὴν τῆς τε νικησαντὸς ἐπὶ τὴν ληΐειαν τραπεσθαι διὰ τὰς ἀπορίας, καὶ πολλὰ μαλ-
λὸν τῆς ἡττηθέντος, καὶ περιγενομένων ἐκ τῆς πολέμου. *Thus it happened, that the*
Conquerors after the subversion of Troy, betook themselves to piracy on account
of their wants, and losses: and those of the conquered, who survived, were under
a still greater necessity to have recourse to plunder. Hence we find, that those
godlike Personages, the sons and grandsons of Jupiter, and other Divini-
ties, were after all, if they ever existed, mere mortals, who turned out
sheepstealers, and freebooters: such as the Poet describes.—

³-----τοῖς ἄλλοις αἰσχροῖς.

Ψυχὰς παρθεμενοὶ, κακὸν ἀλλοδαποῖσι φερόντες.

Who wandered at large to the hazard of their own lives, and to the ruin of others.

The dignity of character, which appears throughout the *Ilias*, has arisen from the high colouring of the Poet, and was the work of his excellent genius, which, as Cicero says, could raise a mortal to a Divinity by its creative power. But neither the characters, nor the names, were real. Homer, as I have observed, borrowed from many parts the titles, and secondary appellations of the Gods; which he conferred upon his Heroes. When therefore people afterwards found these names and titles, or names similar to them, in remote places, where they traded, or made their abode; they imagined, that the Poet's Heroes had settled there; that the Cities, and Temples, were built by them, or to their memory; and that divine honours were paid to those Heroes. But no such persons ever navigated

¹ Homer *Il.* B. v. 298.

² Strabo. L. i. P. 83. B.

³ Homer *Odyss.* L. Γ. v. 73.

those seas: nor settled in those distant countries. They were peopled, and replenished, from other parts of the world, and at different times. Hence no proofs in favour of the Trojan war can from such evidences be obtained.

Thus have I endeavoured both from the internal, and external evidence, to shew, that no such war was ever carried on, as is described in the Ilias of Homer: consequently, that the City Troy in Phrygia was never taken by the Grecians: and farther, if we may rely upon negative proofs, that no such City existed. It is my opinion, as I have before mentioned, that a great part of the history was of Egyptian original; and was brought into Greece by the Poet, and by others of his family. This, I believe, will appear from the subsequent Treatises

Concerning the History of Homer, and of the uncertainty, and contradictions with which it is attended.

I will venture to still farther disclose my mind, though I shall be obliged to go upon more uncertain ground, than that, upon which I have hitherto proceeded. For every thing concerning Homer is a paradox. Who could possibly conceive, that such excellence should be so deeply obscured? We have two Poems transmitted to us, the noblest compositions, that were ever framed: and which have been the delight, and admiration of all ages downwards. Yet we know not for certain, when, nor where, they received their birth: the very name of the Author is controverted. Several Cities contended for the honour of having him a native; but not one could afford a satisfactory claim. How very doubtful every

every thing was in respects to his Parents, Ancestry, and birthplace, may be seen in Suidas, from whom I will copy some of the principal articles. ¹ Ὅμηρος Ποιητής, τὸ ἐν Σμύρνῃ ποταμῷ, καὶ Κριθηίδος (υἱός;) ὡς δὲ ἄλλοι, Ἀπολλωνὸς καὶ Καλλιόπης τῆς Μῆσης. Ὡς δὲ Ἱστορικός Μαιανὸς (forte Μηνανδρὸς, scilicet Περγαμηνὸς) τὸ Μητίς καὶ Εὐμητίδος μητρός. Κατὰ δὲ ἄλλους, Τηλεμαχὸς τὸ Οὐδυσσεὺς, καὶ Πολυκάστῃς τῆς Νέστορος. Ἔστι δὲ τὸ γένος ταῖς κατὰ τὸν Ἱστορικὸν Χαρακὰ αὐτῇ. Αἰθυσῆς Θρακσῆς Λίνος· τὸ δὲ Πιερὸς· τὸ δὲ Οἰαγρὸς· τὸ δὲ Οἰρφεὺς· τὸ δὲ Δρῆς· τὸ δὲ Εὐκλῆς· τὸ δὲ Ἰδμονίδης· τὸ δὲ Φιλοτερπῆς· τὸ δὲ Εὐφῆμος· τὸ δὲ Ἐπιφραδῆς· τὸ δὲ Μελανῶπος· τὸ δὲ Ἀπελλῆς· τὸ δὲ Μαιῶν----κ. τ. λ. Ὅμοιως δὲ καὶ τὴν πατρίδα ἀμφιβόλος, διὰ τὸ ἀπιστηθῆναι ὅλως εἶναι θνητὸν, τῷ μεγεθεὶ τῆς φύσεως. Ὅι μὲν γὰρ ἐφάσαν γενεσθῆαι Σμύρναϊον· οἱ δὲ Χίον. Ὅι δὲ Κολοφώνιον· οἱ δὲ Ἰήτην. οἱ δὲ Κυμαῖον· οἱ δὲ ἐκ Τροίας ἀπὸ χωρᾶς Κεγχρέων· οἱ δὲ Λυδοί· οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖον· οἱ δὲ Ἰθακήσιον· οἱ δὲ Κυπρίον· οἱ δὲ Σαλαμινίον, οἱ δὲ Κνωσσίον· οἱ δὲ Μυκηναῖον· οἱ δὲ Αἰγυπτίον· οἱ δὲ Θετῶλον· οἱ δὲ Ἰταλιώτην· οἱ δὲ Λευκανίον· οἱ δὲ Γρυνίον· οἱ δὲ Ρωμαῖον· οἱ δὲ Ροδίον. *The Poet Homer was the son of the river at Smyrna, and Cretheüs. But as others maintain he was the son of Apollo, and the Muse Calliope. According to the Historian Menander (of Pergamus) he was the son of Metius, and Eumetis. According to others, the son of Telemachus, whose father was Ulysses, and of Polycaste, the daughter of Nestor. His line of descent according to the Historian Charax was in the following order. Linus was the son of the Thracian Lady Æthusa. The son of Linus was Pierus. Of him came Æagrus; of him Orpheus; of him Dres; of him Eucles; of him Idmonides; of him Philoterpes; of him Euphemus; of him Epiphrades; of him Melanopus; of him Apelles; of him Mæon, and of him Homer. He is attended with the like uncertainty in respect to the place of his nativity. Many from the sublimity of his genius could not be persuaded, that he was a mortal. Some however maintained, that he was of Smyrna. Some of Chios. Others of Colophon. Others of the Island Ios. Some made him a Cumean. Some a native*

¹ Suidas. Ὅμηρος.

of Troy, and of the region Cenchrea. Some again made him a Lydian. Some an Athenian. Some a native of Ithaca. He was likewise represented, as of the Island Cyprus: of Salamis: of Gnosſus in Crete: of Mycene: of Egypt: of Theſſaly: of Italy: of Lucania: of Grynium: alſo of Rome and of Rhodes.

We generally conclude, that the brighter the object is, the more eaſy to be found out and determined. But in the account above, we perceive the moſt brilliant genius, that the world almoſt ever beheld, loſt in the depths of obſcurity. All the principal articles of his hiſtory are uncertain, and contradictory. This, I ſhould think, was among other reaſons owing to the meannefs of the true place of his nativity, and chief reſidence. His blindneſs alſo may have contributed to his not being more particularly known: as it is ſaid to have reduced him to a very abject ſtate, even to that of a mendicant. Whatever may have been the cauſe, the uncertainty is too manifeſt.

Concerning the Authors, who have treated of Homer; and of the Life of Homer attributed to Herodotus.

Notwithſtanding this uncertainty, many Writers of old employed themſelves in reſearches concerning Homer, and his poems. And there is one hiſtory ſtill extant, which has been tranſmitted under the ſanction of ſeveral learned men, and attributed to Herodotus. Concerning the principal Writers, who buſied themſelves upon this ſubject, we have an account given us by Tatianus Aſſyrius. ¹ Περὶ γὰρ τῆς ποιητικῆς Ὅμηρος, γένος τε αὐτοῦ, καὶ χρόνος καθ' ὃν ἠκμασε, προηρουνήσαν ὁ πρεσβυτάτοι, Θεάγενης τε ὁ Πηγίος, κατὰ

¹ Tatianus Aſſyr. C. 31. P. 268. Benediſt. See Clemens Alexand. Strabo. L. 1 P. 389.

Καμβύσην γέγονας, Στησιμβρότος τε ὁ Θάσιος, καὶ Ἀντιμαχὸς ὁ Κολοφώνιος, Ἡρόδο-
τος τε ὁ Ἁλικαρνασσεύς, καὶ Διονύσιος ὁ Ολυνθίος. *Concerning the compositions of
Homer, and concerning his race, and the time, when he flourished, several
ancient Writers have made inquiry. Among these was Theagenes of Rhegium
about the time of Cambyfes: also Stesimbrotus of Thasus; Antimachus of Co-
lophos: Herodotus of Halicarnassus; and the Olynthian Dionysius. Among
these we find the Writer above mentioned, whose work is still extant:
at least it is transmitted to us under the name of Herodotus. But it
seems a very jejune performance; and not worthy of so excellent an His-
torian. The Author supposes Smyrna to have been the birthplace of the
Poet: and gives an account of the Cities which he visited in Ionia; and
of his peregrinations into other parts of the world. But he does not
mention the time of his travels, nor give any satisfactory reasons for many
of his migrations. It is said, that he moved from one City to another:
and, wherever he came, charmed every body with his poetry. Mention
is made of his crossing over the Ægean sea to Athens; and that he resi-
ded some time in Ithaca. Also that he made a voyage to the coast of
Hetruria, and even as far as Spain. To this last history I know not how
to give credit: as Homer appears to have very little knowledge of any
Country, which lay to the west of Greece.*

In respect to the time of Homer some notice is taken in the last chap-
ter of the Treatise; but, as the account given is founded upon false princi-
ples, it is not to be heeded. Besides the Chapter is an appendage by a later
hand. For Herodotus or whoever was the Author, makes a full con-
clusion by saying----¹ τὰ ἐν ὑπὲρ τῆς γενεσίου, καὶ τελευτῆς, καὶ βίᾳ, δεικνύται
μοι. *The circumstances relating to the birth, family, death and life of Homer*

¹ Life of Homer. C. 13. P. 37. Edit. Londinenses. 1752.

have

have been thus by me made known. To this somebody has added a continuation: in which we are informed, that Homer was born thirty eight years, after Lesbos began to have Cities. ¹ For from the time of the Trojan War, during an hundred and thirty years, the people of Lesbos lived in a scattered state: and were not till after those hundred and thirty years collected into Cities, the island, *πρωτερον εβσα απολις*, being before without any City. Now this is contrary to the very words of Homer, whose history the Author pretends to give. The Poet intimates, that the island was in a state of great civilization by mentioning it's wealth, and trade.—

² Ὅσπον Λεσβος ανω Μαναρὸς ἔδος ενδον εεργει.

He speaks of Lesbos not only as an island, but also as a City of that Island: and styles it *εὐκτιμένη*, well built. Accordingly when Agamemnon makes an offer to Achilles of some presents—among other things he says—

³ Δωσω δ' ἑπτα γυναικας αμυμονας εργ' ειδυιας,
Λεσβιδας, ἄς ὅτε Λεσβον εὐκτιμενην ἔλον αυτος,
Εξελομην.

This can never relate to a mere barbarous island, and as the Author of the Life maintained, *an island without a City*. The like occurs in the *Odyssey* where the Island is styled ⁴ *εὐκτιμένη*. ⁵ Strabo speaks of the chief City being called Lesbos, in the time of the Trojan war; and quotes the authority of Homer for it. The Author therefore of this Appendix deserves little credit. However, the antecedent part, though it is not

¹ Ibid. C. 14. P. 38.

² IL. Ω. v. 544.

³ IL. I. v. 128.—also, v. 271, &c.

⁴ Odyss. Δ. v. 342. P. v. 133.

⁵ Strabo. L. 12. P. 831.

sufficiently

sufficiently precise, and satisfactory, yet contains some circumstances worth our attention ; of which I shall accordingly take notice.

Concerning the History afforded.

The Author supposes, that Smyrna was indisputably the place of the Poet's birth ; and in consequence of it makes many of the principal events in his life center here. He begins with telling us, that when Cuma, a City of the Æolians was built, there came people from different parts of the world to obtain a settlement in it. Among others was a person, called ¹ Melanopus (Μελανωπος) who married the daughter of a Cumean, named Omures : and who had by her a daughter, to whom they gave the name of Critheïs. When this person was grown up, after the death of her father, and mother, she had a spurious child, and as she was delivered of it upon the banks of the river Meles, which ran by Smyrna, she from thence called it ² Melesigenes, but it was afterwards named Homer.

There may be some truth in this history, but whether it be properly appropriated to the people of Smyrna, will demand some consideration. I take the name (Μελανωπος) Melanopus to bear some analogy to Αἰθιοψ, and Μελαμπες, by which names the people of Egypt were mentioned by the Grecians. For Egypt was of old called ³ Ethiopia. By Melanopus is signified a person of a very dark, or swart, complexion. If then any strangers came to settle in this newly erected City, and among them the person of this name, I should thence, and from other circumstances, suspect, that he was of Egypt. I am led to think the same of his son Melesigenes.

¹ Life of Homer. C. 1. P. 2.

² Ibidem—P. 3.

³ Ελλην (Αιγυπτος) και Μυουρα, και Αιθιοπια. Eustath. in Dion. v. 239.

I therefore cannot accede to the account given by the people of the place, nor believe that Homer was originally called Melesigenes, because his mother was delivered of him upon the banks of the Meles. This was invented to countenance the notion, that Homer was a native of Smyrna; whose history they like many other people have adopted. His true name, I believe, was Melasigenes (Μελασιγενής) from the river of his Country, *the Nile*: for from thence his family came. This name the people of Smyrna, when they took the honour of his birth to themselves, by a very slight alteration adapted to the river Meles: and made the banks of that stream the place of his birth. There is therefore great reason to think, that he was, though of Grecian race, yet allied to the Egyptians: and that his grandfather Melanopus was of that Country. Homer therefore was called Melasigenes, to signify that he was by race a Nilotic; one who by origin came from the banks of the Melas, or Nile, for so was the river of Egypt at times denominated. Hence in the Treatise concerning Rivers, ascribed to Plutarch, the Author says—¹ Νεῖλος ποταμός ἐστὶ τῆς Αἰγυπτῆος—ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ πρότερον Μέλαις. *The Nile is a River of Egypt.—It was formerly called Melas.* Eustathius also upon Dionysius speaks to the same purpose.

² Μέλαις πρότερον καλεσμένος μετεκλήθη Νεῖλος.

The river formerly called Melas, was afterwards named Nilus.

It was sometimes expressed Melo, as we read in Pomponius Festus. Melo, alio nomine, Melas vocatur. ³ Servius mentions the same. Antea Nilus latine Melo dicebatur. This therefore was the river to which Homer was allied, and hence he was denominated Melasigenes. Throughout all his poems, there are continual allusions to Egypt, and it's customs: and

¹ Geog. Græci Minores, Vol. 2. Auctor de Fluviiis. P. 30.

² Eustathius in Dionys. v. 224.

³ Servius in Virg. Georgic. L. 4. v. 291.

almost all Writers, who speak of him, maintain, that he resided in Egypt; and some, that he was a native of the Country. From the history above given we learn, that he was of the family of the Melanopi: which seems as I have said to be analogous to Αἰθιοψ, or 'Ethiopian, the same as Egyptian: and hence we have reason to conclude that he was in some degree of that nation. Had he come from the banks of the Meles in Ionia, he could not well have passed over that river in silence. Nor would he have omitted Smyrna, if it had been the place of his nativity, when he mentions so many Cities, and rivers in it's vicinity. Of these omissions Strabo takes notice. ² Οὐδὲ Μελήτα, τὸν παρὰ τὴν Σμυρνήν ῥέοντα, ὠνομακεῖ ποταμόν, τὴν ὑπὸ τῶν πλείστων λεγομένην αὐτῆς πατρίδα.-----Οὐδὲ αὐτὴν Σμυρναὴν λέγει, οὐδὲ τὰς ἄλλας τῶν Ἰωνῶν πόλεις, ³ καὶ περὶ τῶν Αἰολικῶν τὰς πλείστας, Μίλητον λέγω, καὶ Σάμον, καὶ Λέσβον, καὶ Τενέδον. *He does not mention the river Meles, which ran by the City Smyrna, the place, as most think, of his nativity. Nor does he take any notice of Smyrna itself, nor the other Cities in Ionia, though he mentions most of the Æolian, such as Miletus, Samos, Lesbos and Tenedos.* Strabo says, that it does not hence follow, that he was ignorant either in respect to the City, or river, which may be very true. But this follows from those premises, that he had no regard for them; not the least prejudice in their favour: which could not well have happened, if such a relation had subsisted between them. He would never have omitted Smyrna, nor the Meles, if they had been the scenes of his birth and childhood; more especially, as he had such opportunities of inserting their names: particularly as he mentioned some neighbouring Cities, and the rivers Cayster, and Mæander, ran beside them.

¹ Strabo. L. 12. P. 831.

² So I think, it should be altered, instead of καὶ singly.

Arguments to shew, that Homer was not an Asiatick.

We may proceed still farther, and from these omissions infer, that the Poet was not from any part of that Continent. Had he been a native of Asia Minor, he would have known more concerning the Cities, and Provinces; especially of those, which were near the coast of the sea. And the more he knew, the more ample, and precise would have been his descriptions. For though he affects to bring Auxiliaries as far as from the Thermodon north; and still farther from Lycia, and Caria south; yet he does not in that large range take notice of many towns, or cities, excepting in that confined portion of Phrygia, which he chose for his scene of action. Here he incidentally mentions some places of little note such as Percote, Prætion, Pityeia, Arisbe, Larissa, Adrasteia: and the rivers, Rhesus, Heptaporus, Rhodius, Æsepus, Granicus, Simoeis, and Scamander. These were most of them in Phrygia, and in the neighbourhood of Troas. But when he ventures as far as Cutorus north and to Tmolus, and Miletus south, he is very sparing in his descriptions. On the other hand, when he gives in his Catalogue an account of the Grecian forces, he not only mentions the provinces, from which every Commander came; but specifies the particular Towns, and Cities, which were under their rule, and of many he describes minutely the situation, produce, and history. Thus he mentions—*Αυλῖδα πετρηεσσαν, ευρυχορον Μυκαλησσαν, πολυτρηωνα Θηβην, πολυτρηωνα Μεσσην, ποιηενθ' Ἀλιαρτον, Ογκησον ἱερον Ποσιδηιον, πολυσαφυλον Αρνην, αφνειον Κορυνθον, Πυθωνα πετρηεσσαν και αιπεινην, Ορχομενον πολυμηλον.* To these instances many more might be added. There are also introduced many curious incidental histories, relating to the places, and people; and to the
Chiefs

Chiefs of each nation. But the accounts on the Asiatick side are far short of these: and, excepting those ¹ towns near the ² Hellespont, and Propontis, few places are mentioned for so great a range of Country as the Poet takes in. He indeed takes notice of the mules of the Heneti, and the silver mines of the Alybes; in which article he seems to have been mistaken: for if the Alybes were the same as the Chalybes, according to Strabo, it was iron, and not silver, for which they were ³ famed. In respect to the Cities towards the south, he takes no notice of any place, except Mycale, and the mountains Tmolus, and Ptheiræ; though there were others of great note, and antiquity, which demanded his attention. He is equally silent about many near Troy. Such was ⁴ Smyrna before mentioned, also ⁵ Sardis, Ephesus, Merlæa, Themiscura, ⁶ Cuma, and Pergamus. Add to these ⁷ Priene, ⁸ Colophon, Magnesia, and Mount Calænæ: with the rivers, Cibotus, Caïcus, and Pactolus. These places, from the best histories given of them, were well known before any migration from Greece, or the supposed æra of Troy. And there were many ancient

¹ See Homer's Catalogue. IL. B. v. 494. et deinceps.

² Those which he mentions, are within the compass of ten or twelve miles.

³ Strabo. L. 12. P. 826. Ὑπονοεῖ καὶ ὁ Σκηψίος τὴν τῆς οἰοματός καταπίωσιν ἐξ Ἀλυβῶν εἰς Χαλύβας. ibid. P. 827. Ἐκ δὲ τῆς Χαλύβης χώρας ὁ σιδηρός. Steph. Byzant.

⁴ Smyrna, Ephesus, Themiscura, Myrina, Cuma, Paphos, were all very ancient cities, and according to Strabo built by people called Amazons. L. 11. P. 771. L. 12. P. 827. Σμύρνα ἀπὸ Σμυρῆς Ἀμαζόνος. Steph. Byzant.

⁵ Strabo mentions Sardis as built after the Trojan war, but he must mean the new city; for Herodotus speaks of Sardis as very ancient, and first inhabited by a son of Nifeus. L. 1. C. 7. P. 4.

⁶ Of Cuma see Strabo. L. xi. P. 771. A.

⁷ Priene of Egyptian original. Pausanias. L. 7. P. 526. See Strabo. L. 14. P. 939. where for Αἰγυπτός read Αἰγυπτός.

⁸ Colophon. one of the supposed birthplaces of Homer, built before the Trojan war. Strabo. L. 14. P. 951. But Herodotus makes Colophon more ancient than the city Sardis built by the Amazons. L. 1. C. 16. P. 8. The coming of the Amazons is by Homer mentioned as in the time of Priam. Iliad. Γ. 189.

histories transmitted concerning ¹ them: yet Homer passes them by unnoticed, though he is so particular in his account of Greece. If he were a native of Asia Minor, how can we account for his being so ignorant, or so negligent, where he was most conversant: and so particular and minute, where he was a stranger. For Hellas was the region, with which he was most acquainted; and of this Eratosthenes and Apollodorus took notice. ² Ὅμηρον καὶ ἄλλας τὰς παλαιὰς τὰ μὲν Ἑλληνικά εἶδεναι, τῶν δὲ ὑπορρῶ πολλὴν εἶναι ἀπειρίαν. ἀπειρὸς μὲν μακρῶν ὁδῶν ὄντας, ἀπειρὸς δὲ ναυτιλλέσθαι. *Homer and other ancient Writers were acquainted with the history of Greece; but had little experience about foreign regions, as they were not used to travel far by land, and not accustomed to remote voyages.* This may not be strictly true in respect to Homer: yet still it must seem extraordinary, if he were of any place in Asia, that a person, who was an Historian as well as a Poet, and zealous about ancient traditions, should say least, where he knew most; and be most profuse, where he was least acquainted.

¹ Velleius Paterculus supposes that several of the cities above mentioned, were founded by the Grecians, when they first got possession of Ionia. But they only rebuilt these cities, some of which were of great antiquity; and are so described by other Writers.

² Strabo. L. 7. P. 457.

Concerning Homer's History being alluded to in his Poems.

We may therefore from the accounts above safely infer, that Homer was not a native of Asia Minor. And if he were not of these parts, all that remains is, to inquire to what region he is to be adjudged. The Country at large, we may presume, was Hellas, but the particular province may not be so easily ascertained. Indeed we have scarcely any light to direct us, or historical evidence, by which we can be determined. The chief resource, to which we can apply, is contained in his writings: and it may be worth our while to inquire, what faint traces may be found in them concerning the Author, and his family; of his wanderings, and misfortunes: and lastly of the Country, where his family resided, and which probably gave him birth. I have offered a conjecture, that this place was Ithaca: and that under the character of Ulysses, he has given us some traits of his own person, and natural endowments: also of the many sufferings, and adventures, which he had experienced. Ulysses makes no small figure in the Ilias, though his picture is not embellished with that glare and high colouring, with which some few are set off. Yet the Poet often introduces him to great advantage, and at the same time subjoins some compliment to shew, that he was a favourite character. But still we have but faint ideas afforded us of those excellent qualities, which are displayed in the other poem. The Odyssey is founded upon the Ilias; and affords incidentally an account of the principal events, which ensued upon the taking of Troy. But the chief object throughout is the Hero of Ithaca; whose piety, patience, magnanimity and wisdom are set off to great advantage: more particularly the mildness of his manners, and attachment to the place of his nativity, and his love for his parents, and people.

people. These tender passions are greatly enhanced by his being for so many years separated from the chief objects of his regard. In consequence of this we have a melancholy, but pleasing, display of those emotions, which arise in a great and exalted mind from trouble, and disappointment, and a series of cruel adventures. These are attended with a mournful retrospect towards lost happiness, and hopes still cherished of being restored to the scene of his wishes. The whole is described in so particular, and so affecting a manner, that, as I have said before, I am led to think that in the history of Ulysses, we may trace the life and adventures of Homer. The sufferings of the one were copied from what the other had experienced: and all the sorrow, and anguish displayed, and all those melancholy emotions, originated in the Poet's breast.

He was well acquainted with the sea, and all the dangers of that element, to which he must have often been witness, as we may judge from his repeated and fearful descriptions. Such are the following which cannot be read without a secret horror.

ἼΟι δ' ἴσαν ἀργαλεῶν ἀνέμων ἀταλάντοι ἀέλλῃ,

Ἦ ῥα θ' ὑπο βροντῆς πατρός Διός εἰσι πέδονδε,

Θεσπεσίῳ δ' ὁμάδῳ ἅλι μισγεται, ἐν δέ τε πολλὰ

Κυμάτα παφλαζόντα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης,

Κυρτα, φαληριῶντα----

The Trojans join, and all terrific move,

Like some fell whirlwind sent by angry Jove:

O'er the vex'd land it sweeps, and seaward flies;

Then tumult, noise and anarchy arise.

Dire is the conflict, as the waves engage

High towering, white with foam, and swell'n with rage.

A similar instance, equally fearful, is given in another place: the same which was so admired by Plato.

¹ Ὡς δ' ὅτ' ἐπὶ προχοῇσι ² διπτερος ποταμοῖο
Βεβρυχεν μέγα κυμα ποτὶ ῥοον, ἀμφὶ δὲ τ' ἀκραι
Ἥϊονες βοῶσιν ἐρευγομένης ἁλὸς ἐξω.

*As when the Sea, in rough and angry mood,
Meets some vast river's wide descending flood,
Loud gusts and squals are heard with wild uproar,
While the swell'd surge comes tumbling on the shore.*

The picture given of Ulysses struggling in the ocean, and born at the will of the winds, and waves, must inspire us with similar terror.

³ Ὡς ἀρὰ μιν εἰποντ' ἐλάσεν μέγα κυμα κατ' ἀκρῆς
Δεινὸν ἐπεσσυμένον, περὶ δὲ σχεδὴν ἐλελίξεν.

Τῆλε δ' ἀπὸ σχεδῆς αὐτὸς πᾶσε, πηδάλιον δέ

Ἐκ χειρῶν προέηκε, μέσον δὲ οἱ ἴσον ἐαξέ

Δεινὴ μισγομένων ἀνεμῶν ἐλθούσα θυέλλα.

* * * * *

Τὸν δ' ἀρ' ὑποβρυχα θῆκε πολὺν χρόνον, εἰς δὲ δυνάσθη

Λίψα μάλ' ἀνσχεθεῖν μεγαλὰ ὑπὸ κυματος ὄρμης.

Εἴματα γὰρ ῥ' ἐβαρυνέ, τὰ οἱ πορὲ δια Καλυψῶ.

Οὔτε δὲ δὴ ῥ' ἀνέδου, σωματὸς δ' ἐξεπτύσεν ἄλμην

Πικρὴν, ἣ οἱ πολλὰ ἀπὸ κρατος κελαρυζέεν.

*Just as he spake a mighty wave wide-spread
Rose high behind, and burst upon his head.*

¹ Il. P. v. 263 et deinceps.

² By ποταμός διπτερός the Poet undoubtedly alludes to the Nile: at the mouth of which river the phenomenon above described is observable at this day, and is called the Bogas. See Mr. Wood upon Homer.

³ Odyss. E. v. 314.

*He felt his raft whirl'd round, of winds the play,
 And from the helm, he grasp'd, was born away.
 Rent was the mast, and in the middle fail'd:
 A whirlwind wild o'er all the sea prevail'd;
 A fierce impetuous hurricane, combin'd
 Of every stormy gust, and lawless wind.
 The robe long held him plung'd beneath the wave,
 The cumbrous robe, which erst Calypso gave.
 Nor could he yet resist nor upward move,
 The huge unwieldy surge still press'd above.
 At last he boldly strove, and at the close
 All drench'd and dripping to the surface rose.
 Forth from his mouth a bitter torrent sped,
 And the sea brine ran oozing down his head.*

At last, as he is born up by a huge wave, he descries land, and exults with hopes of gaining the shore: but these hopes are ruined almost as soon as conceived.

3 Αλλ' ὅτε δὴ τρίτον ἡμᾶρ εὐπλοκάμος τέλει' ἦως,
 Καὶ τότε εἴπειτ' ἀνεμὸς μὲν ἐπαυσάτο, ἦδ' ἐγαλήνη
 Ἐπλετο νηγεμῖη, ὃ δ' ἀρὰ σχεδὸν εἰσίδε γαίαν
 Οἷον μαλα πρὸιδων, μεγαλὴ ὑπὸ κυματος ἀρθεῖς.
 Ὡς δ' ὅταν ἀσπασίος βίος τῶν παῖδεςσι φανείη
 Πατρός, ὃς ἐν νοσῶντι κεῖται κρατερ' ἀλγεῶν πάσχω,ν,
 Δῆρον τηκομένος, συγερὰς δὲ οἱ ἐχραε δαιμόνων,
 Ἀσπασίον δ' ἀρὰ τὸν γὰρ θεοὶ κακοτήτος ἐλυσαν
 Ὡς Ὀδυσσῆ' ἀσπασὸν εἰσάτο γαῖα καὶ ὕλη
 Νῆχ' ἐπείγομενος πόσιν ἠπείρου ἐπιβῆναι
 Αλλ' ὅτε τοσσὸν ἀπὴν, ὅσσον τε γεγῶνε βόησας,

Και δὴ δέπον ἀκασε ποτὶ σπιλαδέσσι θαλάσσης.

Ρ' οἷται γὰρ μέγα κύμα ποτὶ ξέρον ἠπείροιο,

Δεινὸν ἐρευνόμενον, εἰλυτο δὲ πανθ' ἄλος ἀχνη.

Οὐ γὰρ ἔσαν λιμένες νηῶν οἶχοι, εἰδ' ἐπιώγει,

Ἀλλ' αἵται προβλήτες ἔσαν, σπιλάδες τε, παγοίτε.

On the third day, as soon as night was fled,

A lovely morn it's gentle influence shed.

The winds were hush'd, with all the tempest rude;

And a still, breathless, pleasing calm ensued.

Eager the Chief look'd out, and near at hand

From an high swelling billow saw the land.

As when some happy filial tribe, who late

Viewed a fond Parent on the verge of fate,

See him at once with life and vigour blest;

So glowed the transport in Ulysses' breast,

Joyous he thought his labours now no more,

And plied each nerve to gain the wish'd for shore.

But when as near, as human voice can reach,

He heard the surge loud thundering on the beach.

Instead of bay, and friendly port, he found

Vast pointed rocks, and breakers all around.

Deep ran the surf, and dangerous every way,

The cliffs were cover'd high with foam and spray.

There is something particular in this description: for the Poet mentions ἠνεμία, or the dying away of the wind: and afterwards says—ρ' οἷται γὰρ μέγα κύμα, *the sea still rages, and breaks.* Nobody but a person who had been conversant with the sea, would have been apprised of this heavy

swell, which continues upon a sudden calm. The description is true, and founded upon experience.

I must repeat, what I said above, that whoever wrote these lines, had often experienced the terrors of the deep, and knew well the fatal consequences of a lee shore. In another part of his poems, he gives a fine description of a night scene, in which a ship is carried away by a storm; and the mariners in their distress see a fire upon an hill inland, lighted up by some shepherds, and look up with longing eyes to be in such a place of security.

ὣς δ' ὅταν ἐκ ποντοῖο σέλας ναυτῆσι φανείη
 καιομένοιο πυρὸς, τοδὲ καίεται ὑψοῦ' ὄρεσφι
 σταθμῶ ἐν οἰοπόλῳ· τῆς δ' ἐκ θελοντας ἀελλῆαι
 πόντον ἐπ' ἔχθουσεντα φίλων ἀπανευθε φερῶσιν.

*As when by night a fire is seen afar,
 By Shepherds lighted near their fleecy care,
 Driv'n at the will of winds across the main,
 The mariners look up but look in vain.
 Loud, and more loud, the tempest howls, while they
 Far from their best loved friends are born away.*

I am led to think, when I read this affecting description, that Homer was one of those, who looked up in that disastrous season; and partook of those dangers, which he so pathetically describes. All those feelings, which he so intimately imparts, he had experienced. He had often heard the deafening surge break upon the shore, and passed with extreme hazard, those rocks, and shoals, with which the sea coast abounds. He mentions the Λαρος and Αἰθυῖα, together with other birds of the ocean: and describes their flight, and manner of fishing, and the very motion

of their wings. This may be seen in the description given of Mercury, when he flew downwards from the Mountain Pieria.

—————Down he took his flight
In semblance like a seamew, that frequents
The dreary gulfs, which bound the troubled main.
There with unwearied wing she roams the deep,
Seeking her fishy prey; and stooping low
Dips her light pinions in the briny wave.

Odyss. E. 51.

When he alludes to a person, who had been lost in the seas, he does not barely mention the circumstance of his being drowned: but brings the sad event before our eyes; and points to *the bones, which lie whitening upon the strand*—

Ἄνθρωπος, ὃς δὴ πρὸς λευκὴν ὄρεα πύθεται ὀμβρῶν,
Κείμεν' ἐπ' ἡπείρου.

These ideas could not be borrowed. They are too strong, and vivid, and too particular, to be copies. They proceeded from his own recollection; and were the result of sad experience.

A Farther Account of The Poet.

The Author of the Life of Homer informs us, that he was a person of great curiosity, and had undertaken many voyages; and that among other places he had visited the Island of Ithaca. He was persuaded to take this voyage by one Mentès. This person was of Leucadia near Epirus, and came in a ship to Smyrna for corn—² κατὰ πεπλευκῶς ἐπὶ σίτον. He is represented as a man of learning for those times, and experienced

¹ Odyss. A. v. 161.

² C. 3. P. 5.

in the world. The Author accordingly styles him---¹ *πεπαιδευμενος ανηρ, ως εν εκεινω τω χρονω, και πολυιςωρ. A man well instructed, for the time in which he lived, and of much knowledge.* He was Commander of the ship, which he navigated, and seeing the curiosity of Homer, with whom he had got acquainted at Smyrna, he invited him to partake of his ship, and to visit the places, to which it was destined. Some of these were as far off, as Hetruria, and Iberia in Spain. Homer accepted of the offer, and upon the ship's return from these remote parts, they stopped at Ithaca, where he was taken ill with a disorder in his eyes, of which his historian gives the following account : ¹ *Και τω Μελησιγενει συνεβη, νοσησαντι τες οφθαλμοι, καρτα δεινως εχειν. Και αυτον θεραπειης ενεκα, πλειν μελλων εις την Λευκαδα, καταλιπειν ο Μεντης παρα ανδρι Φιλω εωυτε ες τα μαλιστα Μεντορι τω Αλκιμη Ιθακησιω, πολλα δεηθεις επιμελειην εχειν αναπλωσας δε αναληψεσθαι αυτον. Ο δε Μεντωρ νοσηλευσεν αυτον εκτενως, και γαρ τε εις αρκειοντως ειχε, και ηκεν ευ ες δικαιοσυνην τε, και φιλοξενιην, μακρω μαλιστα των εν Ιθακη ανδρων.* Upon their arrival at this Island---it happened, that Melefigenes laboured with a bad disorder in his eyes, so as to be very ill. And Mentos, in order that he might be cured, left him under a particular friend, Mentor, the son of Alcimus, an inhabitant of Ithaca, and he begged of him to omit nothing for his cure. At the same time Mentos promised to receive again Melefigenes into his ship, when he returned. Mentor accordingly administered every thing proper with the utmost attention to the disorder : for he was a man of substance, and of a character above all others for goodness and hospitality. Then comes a circumstance of consequence---² *Ενταυθα συνεβη τω Μελησιγενει περι Οδυσσεως ισορησαι, και πυθεσθαι.* At this time it was, that Melefigenes obtained from the people of Ithaca the knowledge of Ulysses, and his history, about which

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid. C. 3. P. 6.

³ Ibid.

he there made inquiry and got information: a circumstance very remarkable. Ὅι δὲ Ἰθακησιοὶ λέγουσι τότε μὲν παρ' ἐωυτοῖς τυφλώθηναι. ὡς δὲ ἐγὼ φημι, τότε μὲν ὕγιη γενέσθαι ὕστερον δὲ ἐν Κολοφῶνι τυφλώθηναι. It must be confessed, says the Author, *that the people of Ithaca declare, this to be the time, during his residence in their island, when Melesigenes lost his sight. But I maintain to the contrary, that in Ithaca he recovered his sight, and afterwards became blind at Colophon.* He then mentions the return of Mentès, with whom he would persuade us, that Homer was in a course of navigation, συχρον χρόνον, *for a considerable time:* and that after he had lost his sight — ἐπιχειρεῖ τῇ ποιήσει, *he began to apply to poetry.* The Author by his diligence has gleaned many curious circumstances, which he has mixed with others of doubtful authority, and some not to be credited.

That Homer resided in Ithaca must be granted. The Author allows it, and we have the evidence of the natives. But that Mentès brought him thither from Smyrna, may admit of a doubt. It is not to be believed that a person, who came from Leucadia for corn, should, instead of carrying it directly home, make a voyage to Hetruria, and Iberia, to the hazard of his cargo. It may be said, that he carried it to the Iberi by way of traffick. But this is hardly credible. Such long trading voyages were, I believe, never in the time of Homer undertaken by the Greeks: and there is reason to think, that the Leucadians stood more in need of corn, than the people of Spain; whose country was very fertile, especially upon the southern ² coast. Besides, as I have before observed, there was little

¹ Ibid. P. 7.

² Ἡ δὲ νοτιος (Ἰβηρία) πᾶσα εὐδαιμων σχεδὸν τι, καὶ διαφοροντως ἢ ἐξω γῆλων. Strabo L. 3. P. 200. ἐξαγεται δ' ἐκ τῆς Τερρῆτανίας σίτος τε καὶ οἶνος πολὺς. L. 3. P. 212. Hispania-terrarum-plaga comparanda optimis. Nulli posthabenda frugum copia et foli ubere. Solinus. C. xxiii.

The Country upon the river Iberus, and about Saguntum was particularly fertile. Νεμονται δὲ χωρὰν αἱ κατοικοῦντες αὐτὴν πᾶμφορον, καὶ διαφέρουσαν ἀρετῇ πᾶσιν τῆς Ἰβηρίας. Polybius. L. 3. P. 172.

Nec Cereri terra indocilis, nec inhospita Baccho,

Nullaque Palladiâ fese magis arbore tollit. Silius Ital. L. 1. v. 237.

They exported corn to a great amount.

intercourse between neighbouring people, much less between nations so remote. Homer is however said by the Author to have accompanied: **Mentes**——ἐναυτίλλετο μετὰ τῷ Μεντεῶς, καὶ ὅπῃ ἐκάστοτε ἀφίκοιτο, πάντα τὰ ἐπὶ χώρια διεώρατο, καὶ ἰσορρυῶν ἐπυνθάνετο. εἰκὸς δὲ μὲν ἦν καὶ μνημοσύνη πάντων γράφεισθαι. Ανακομιζόμενοι δὲ ἐκ Τυρσηνῆς καὶ τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἀπικνεύονται εἰς Ἰθάκην. *He accompanied Mentes in his voyage, and wherever they came, he made observations upon every thing which occurred in different places; and was diligent in his inquiries. It is very probable, that he committed to writing, whatever he could recollect. Upon their leaving the coast of Hetruria, and Iberia, they came again to Ithaca.* By this we learn, how far he went to the westward, and how diligent he is said to have been in his observations, and inquiries. In consequence of this we should expect to find him well acquainted with all that part of the Hesperian coast, by which they passed, and with the cities, which they must necessarily have visited. But in the accounts which have been transmitted by him, he seems to discover very little knowledge of that part of the world. No hint is afforded of the Umbri, Ausonians, Sicani, and Iapygians; nor of the people of Latium or Hetruria. He alludes darkly to the Æolian Islands; and to Sicily, which he styles Thrinacia: and these are the ultimate of his discoveries westward. For where the Island of Circe was situated, or the Island of Calypso, cannot certainly be determined: as he affords no sure marks, by which they may be ascertained. The former he describes as far in the west; yet tells us it was the very place,—

----- ὅθι τ' Ἠὸς ἠριγένειος

ὄρεα, καὶ χοροὶ εἰσι, καὶ ἀντολαὶ Ἡελίοιο.

Where, it seem'd, was the dawn of Day, and the rising of the Sun.

x Odyss. M. v. 3.

But

But though we may not give credit to these extensive voyages; yet there are other articles, which we may admit, as true, since the Author's evidence is confirmed by the people of Ithaca. We learn from both, that the Poet was certainly in that Island, and there got the knowledge of Ulysses, and the history of Troy. And, when he became blind, he formed his two excellent poems upon this information. For the history of the Hero is described both in the Ilias, and Odyssæa; and consequently the plan for both poems, according to this account, originated in this island. And here it is worth observing, that if the Poet had been born at Smyrna or Colophon, and had the siege of Troy been an Asiatic event, he need not have gone to Ithaca for intelligence. We have been told, that according to the Natives, it was during his residence in Ithaca, that he by a disorder, lost his sight. But the Author will not allow this. On the contrary he asserts peremptorily, that he was cured in Ithaca, and afterwards blind at Colophon, and quotes the authority of the Colophonians in proof of his assertion. But the people of this place, and of all the cities upon that coast, were much mistaken about Homer. This is evident from their mutual contradictions. I am therefore inclined on many accounts to give the preference to the Islanders, and to believe the fact, as they state it, for which some farther reasons will hereafter be afforded.

Here then I am led to think, that he composed his poems. These he founded upon materials which he had obtained both in this place and Egypt. And in the prosecution of his purpose he introduced his own character, and the names of several of his friends, to whom he thought himself obliged. This the Author of his Life allows, though he differs about the place, where he began his operation. ¹ Επιχειρησας δε τη ποιησει

¹ Homeri Vita. C. 9. P. 23.

απεδωκε χάριν, ἣν εἶχε, πρῶτον μὲν Μεντορί· τῷ Ἰθακήσιῳ ἐν τῇ Ὀδυσσειᾷ, ὅτι μιν καμνοντα τὰς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἰθάκῃ ἐνοσηλευσεν ἐκτενῶς· τὲν ὄνομα αὐτὸς ἐσαρμόσας ἐς τὴν ποιήσιν, Ὀδυσσεὺς τε ἑταῖρον Φᾶς εἶναι. *When Homer took in hand to compose his Poems, he made a proper return for the obligations, under which he lay: and first to Mentor of Ithaca, who by his great attention had cured him of the disorder in his eyes. Upon this account he introduced the name of this person in his Odyssæa, and mentions him as a friend of Ulysses.* He mentions likewise that Mentès, with whom the Poet was said to have navigated the seas, was for the same reason commemorated. This was the person under whose character Minerva is introduced and made to say—

¹ Μεντῆς Ἀγχιάλοιο δαΐφρονος εὐχομαι εἶναι

Ἵτιος, ἀτὰρ Τάφιοισι Φίληρετμοισιν ἀνασσῶ.

The Taphians inhabited a cluster of Islands called the Echinades just above Ithaca. Mentès therefore was not of Iōnia. The Poet ² Phemius was of Ithaca; and he is mentioned as a friend of Homer, and his Preceptor. Tychius also is represented in the same light, who was of Hyle in ³ Bœotia, and is said to have made the shield of Ajax of Salamis. The poet and musician Demodocus was of Phæacia; a region at no great distance, upon the same coast.

Hence two inferences may be made. First, we may learn, that the names, as well as the characters, in the two poems, were not always, if ever, genuine; and that many of them related to persons of a later age. In the next place, as these persons were either of Ithaca, or of cities and provinces in its vicinity, we may presume, that the poems

¹ Odyss. A. v. 180.

² Odyss. X. 331. See Life of Homer. C. 9. P. 24.

³ Τυχίος—Σκυτοτόμων ὅχ' ἀριστος ὕλη ἐν οἰκίᾳ βαίων. IL. H. v. 220. See Steph. Byzant. ὕλη. and Aliad B. v. 500.

were

were composed in that part of the world, where the friends of the Poet resided. We have reason therefore to ascribe them to Hellas; and to that particular island in the west, called Ithaca.

Another argument to this purpose, may be deduced from the concessions made above, which seem to ruin all the pretensions of the Asiatics. The people of Smyrna allowed, that the first knowledge of Ulysses and the Trojan war, was obtained by Homer in Ithaca. They therefore could not have been acquainted with it. This proves, that Homer could not have been a native of the region, called by the Greeks Iönia. For if the war had been of that duration, and the City Troy so famous, the people of Colophon, and Smyrna, were so very near the scene of action, that the Poet's information must have originated from them. The natives of these parts, near the Mæander and Cayster, are mentioned among some of the principal auxiliaries of the Trojans. And the traditions concerning the war, had it ever been carried on, must have been preserved here in abundance. But they had no such traditions; as is manifest from Homer receiving the first account of the war elsewhere. Had he been a native of Smyrna, and the war in Phrygia, his information would not have been derived from a remote part of Greece.

*A farther account of Mentès, and of articles introduced by
Homer.*

The Author of the Life, who tells us that Mentès was Homer's friend, would still persuade us, that the acquaintance commenced at Smyrna. This is done in order to countenance the pretensions of the people of that place; and to make his own history plausible. But if Homer were of

Ithaca, as, I believe, in the sequel will appear, it is more reasonable to suppose, that his connexion began in that part of the world, as both Leucas, and the Taphian Islands of Mentos lay within the Poet's view. Some of them could not be above a league, or two, from the place, where he resided; whatever spot he may have chosen. Besides the whole account of this Leucadian or Taphian ship, laden with wheat, and the voyage to Smyrna first, and then to Hetruria, and Spain; and afterwards back again to Ithaca and Leucadia, is not to be credited. Homer gives strong intimations, as I have before shewn, that he was little acquainted with those regions, whither the Author supposes him to have travelled.

We must therefore only thus far accede to the account of the people of Smyrna, as to give them credit, when they tell us, that Homer resided in Ithaca: for that evidence is warranted by the people of the Island. And we may also readily allow upon their evidence, that he here got intelligence concerning the history of Troy. Upon this history, which was originally Egyptian, he founded the scheme of his two principal poems, adapting things to Greece and Phrygia by an ingenious transposition. At what time of his life, and in what order, these operations were carried on, cannot at this time be ascertained. His first knowledge of Troy, and the war, may, as represented, have originated in Ithaca; and he might in consequence of it betake himself to Egypt, in order to perfect this intelligence. Among his friends we find Mentor mentioned as principal, to whom he is said to have been chiefly obliged. This person had probably been a Priest at Memphis, or Thebes; and was denominated from some sacred edifice in that Country, to which Phantasia might also have belonged: and where the sacred Archives were preserved. Mentor signifies *Μενος πύργος*, or *Tower of Menes*, the Egyptian Deity: and a person

person may as well be denominated from that, as people are from similar objects at this day. As Melasigenes was well acquainted with Egypt; and if not a native, yet of a family, which was in some degree Egyptian, we have reason to think, that his knowledge of the history, the first hints of which he obtained in Ithaca, was greatly improved here. And, when upon his return he became blind in that island, he then began to transpose, and methodize the materials, upon which his two poems are founded. For this opinion we have the authority of Diodorus Siculus, as he is quoted by Justin Martyr. Ὅτι δὲ Ὅμηρος ἐν Αἰγυπτῷ γεγόνε, καὶ πολλὰ ὧν ἐκεῖ μεμαθήκεν εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ μετενεγκέ ποιήσιν, ἱκανῶς διδάσκει ἡμᾶς Διοδώρος, ὁ τῶν ἱστοριογράφων ἐνδοξοτάτος. *That Homer was in Egypt, and introduced into his poems a great deal of the intelligence, which he obtained in that Country, we are well assured by that most respectable Historian Diodorus.* The historian, to whom this Writer appeals, particularizes many articles, which the Poet brought with him from Egypt, and inserted in his ² works. He probably borrowed some things from Melampus and his followers in Greece, who are represented as antecedent in time.---³ Μελαμποδα δὲ φασὶ μετενεγκεῖν ἐξ Αἰγυπτῷ τὰ Διονυσῶ νομιζόμενα τελεῖσθαι παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι, καὶ τὰ περὶ Κρονὸς μυθολογούμενα; καὶ τὰ περὶ τῆς Τιτανομαχίας, καὶ τὸ συνέλον, τὴν περὶ τὰ πάθη τῶν Θεῶν ἱστορίαν. *It is said, that Melampus brought from Egypt those rites and ceremonies, which are supposed to be celebrated by the Grecians; also all those fables about Saturn, and the war of the Titans; and in one word, the whole of that history which relates to the sufferings of the Gods.* I have mentioned, that he was beholden to Daphne of Thebes, a reputed Sibyl, and Poetess, for much ⁴ intelligence. As it was Memphis, from

¹ Justin Martyr. Cohort. P. 27.

² Diodorus. Sic. L. 1. P. 86, 7.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Diodorus Sic. L. 4. P. 269.

which

which Homer obtained much of his knowledge, I should imagine, it was Thebes in Egypt, to which he was beholden for an equal portion. Some went so far as to make him a native of Thebes, as may be seen by those verses quoted before.

¹ Εἴθε δὲ (κεῖται) θεῖος Ὀμηρος, ὃς Ἑλλάδα πᾶσαν αἶσσε,
Θήβης ἐκγεγαῶς τῆς ἑκατονταπύλης.

Here lies the divine Bard Homer, who celebrated Hellas; and who was originally a native of Thebes, famed for it's hundred gates: by which was meant Thebes in Egypt.

Suidas who enumerates the various opinions concerning the place of his nativity, mentions among other traditions, ² Ὅτι δὲ Ἰθακησιον, οἱ δὲ Αἰγυπτιον. *Some have pronounced him a native of Ithaca, and some of Egypt.* They were neither of them far from the truth. People differed also much about his parentage. The notions of the natives of Smyrna we have seen: in which, however distorted, we find plain intimation of his being ultimately a Melanopian, or Ethiopic *Egyptian*, by descent. One account mentioned by Suidas is, that he was the son of Telemachus, whose father was Ulysses: and that his mother was Polycasta, the daughter of Nestor, —κατὰ δὲ ἄλλας υἱὸς Τηλεμάχου τὸ Ὀδυσσεύς, καὶ Πολυκάστης Νεστορός. That such a daughter was attributed to the old Monarch is certain; for she is mentioned by the Poet, as administering to Telemachus.

³ Τοφρὰ δὲ Τηλεμάχον λῆσεν καλὴ Πολυκάστη,
Νεστορός ὀπλοτάτη θυγάτηρ Νηληϊάδαο.

These histories may not be accurate: yet they serve to shew us, that many foreign characters were introduced by the Poet into the poem, which he

¹ Antholog. Gr. L. 3. P. 269. Edit. Steph.

² Suidas—in voce Ὀμηρος. See the whole.

³ Odyss. Γ. v. 464.

had borrowed, and particularly those of his friends and relations. And we are farther informed that there were those, who maintained, that Homer was of the family of Ulysses, and of Ithaca: which is coming near the truth.

Among those Relations above, there was one person introduced, who, I imagine, was particularly dear. And as it appears to me, that he described his own sufferings under the character of Ulysses; so I am persuaded, that he displayed the fidelity, and virtues of his wife in the history of Penelope. I have mentioned, that his family (the *Μελανωπιοί*) was of Egyptian original, and that he had been himself long conversant in that Country: and after a series of disappointments, and long wandering upon the seas, he at last returned to his wife and friends in safety. In these travels he had been driven into various parts of the world. Among other regions he had visited the coast of Tyre and Sidon; also of Asia Minor; and he must have been detained for some time in Phrygia, and upon the Hellespont; as he is better acquainted with that region, than any other in Asia.

That there were in Ithaca people from Egypt, and that a connexion subsisted between the two places, we have some other faint evidence in an account given of a council summoned by Telemachus. As soon as he had taken the chair, as principal, the debate began: and the first, who spoke, is represented as a person of consequence, and of great age, and he is stiled the Egyptian Hero.

¹ Τοιοῖσι δ' ἐπειθ' Ἡρώς Αἰγυπτίος ἦρχ' ἀγορεύειν,

Ὅς δὴ γηραῖ' κυφὸς ἐστίν, καὶ μυρία ἤδη.

¹ Odyss. B. v. 15.

Ægyptius

*Ægyptius then th' assembled Peers address'd
An Hero bent with age; but with great wisdom blest'd.*

Inferences from the accounts above given.

From these histories I am confirmed in my belief, that the Poet was of Ithaca: and that his Parents, were some of the Iönians, who had been captivated, and carried into Egypt. In the reign of ¹ Psammiticus many were invited to settle in that Country: and they accordingly went over, and had the City Naucratis, and other large possessions given to them. These may have been the first, who came by invitation in a large body, and who had any regular and legal settlements. This was about the xxxv Olympiad: and, as far as we can judge, later than the time of Homer. With these therefore I have no concern. Those, to whom I allude, were of earlier date and such as had been piratically ² taken, and sold; who after a time were set free, and permitted to remain in the Country. Of these we may suppose, that many at times fought again the land of their fathers, wherever they could most readily gain admission. The Cretans, Ionians, and particularly the Milesians, were noted traders, and at the same time great pirates, who plundered one another ³ reciprocally, and lived in great measure by such ill acquired booty. They were like all other Grecians known to the people of Phenicia, Palestine, and Egypt by the name of Iavan: and are mentioned

¹ Herodotus. L. 2. C. 154. P. 179.

² Eumæus was carried away by some Phenicians from the Island Scyros, and sold for a bondman in Ithaca. *Odyssæa*. L. O. v. 482.

³ Eusebius. *Lat. Vers.* P. 24. *Marshall Chron. Can. Sec. 14.* P. 361. Diodorus seems to be of another opinion: but he is contradicted by Homer; and the Author of the *Life of Homer*; and by all writers upon this subject.

by

by Isaiah C. 66. 19. We are also told by the Prophet Ezekiel, that they traded largely with the people upon this coast; and the traffick was principally in slaves. This the Prophet above mentioned expressly tells us in respect to Tyre, by saying, *Iavan, Tubal, and Meshech, were thy merchants, they traded in the persons of men.* They seem to have been very industrious in their calling, and are said---to have gone to and fro: and to have occupied their fairs, that is, *the great marts in Tyre and Phœnicia.* Ezekiel. 27. 13. 19. This was before the ruin of that City, by Nebuchadnezzar; and when Tyre was in it's full glory.

We are farther told, that the Egyptians at an early period possessed the empire of the sea; and conquered many of the Grecian islands, and part of the Asiatic coast, in which the regions of Ionia and Miletus are included. If this be true, they undoubtedly carried off many of the inhabitants, who were disposed of in Egypt, and whose posterity at different intervals returned to their own Country. Of this trade, and these piracies, and of the communication in general between Greece and Egypt, we have many incidental histories in Homer, especially in the second Poem: and the like are to be found in all the accounts of ancient Greece.

Thus much is certain, that the best accounts concerning Homer mention his residing in Egypt; and we have seen that some Writers have gone so far as to make him a native of that Country. There is good authority to make us believe, that his immediate ancestors were Egyptians by birth; though of Grecian original. That he was himself a Grecian, is manifest from his language, and from his dialect it is plain that his family was originally from Ionia. From this latter circumstance so many places of that part of the world, such as Colophon,

R

Smyrna,

Smyrna, Cuma, Chios, Ios, and Rhodes, claimed him: though not one could make out any fair pretension. He was an Iönian though of Ithaca, whose family came last from Egypt; and from the obscurity of the Island, where he resided, all these difficulties have arisen.

Of the Piety and Virtues of Ulysses, under which are exemplified the sufferings and character of the Poet.

One intention of the Poet in the Ilias was to exhibit great examples of prowess, and valour; and some instances of generosity and goodness. But in the Odyssæa he makes a more copious display of the milder virtues; particularly of patience and fortitude, exercised in a series of disasters, and of unextinguished affection. Hence the Hero is stiled δυσμορος, δυσηνος, ταλασιφρων, and πολυτλας διος Οδυσσευς. His Mother accordingly in the midst of her grief exclaims—

¹ Ω μοι, τεκνον εμον, περι παντων καμμορε φωτων.

O my son, the most unfortunate of men.

In another place it is said—² περι γαρ μιν οϊζυρον τεκε μητηρ. Mercury tells Calypso---

³ Φησι τοι ανδρα παρειναι οϊζυρωτατον αλλων

Των ανδρων, οι ασυ περι Πριαμοιο μαχοντο.

That Ulysses was the most unfortunate of all the Heroes, who fought at Troy.

Mentor, whom I have mentioned as a foreign character in the Odyssæa, shews, like the Hero Egyptus, his regard for Ulysses, and true sense of his virtues.-----

¹ Odyss. A. v. 215.

² ——— Γ. v. 95.

³ ——— E. v. 105.

-----Τοῖσιν ἀνέσθη

Ἰ Μέντωρ, ὃς ῥ' Οδυσσεὺς ἀμυμονὸς ἦεν ἑταῖρος.

Καὶ οἱ ἰὼν ἐν νηυσὶν ἐπέτρεπεν οἶκον ἅπαντα,

Πειθεσθαι τε γέροντι, καὶ ἐμπέδα πάντα φυλάττειν.

Ὅς σφιν εὐφρονέων ἀγορήσατο, καὶ μετέειπεν·

Κεκλυτὲ δὴ νυν μευ, Ἰθακῆσιοι, ὅττι κεν εἰπῶ,

Μῆτις ἐτι πρόφρων ἀγανὸς τε καὶ ἡπίος ἔσω

Σκηπτέχης βασιλεὺς, μῆδ' ἔφρ' αἰσιμα εἰδώς,

Ἀλλ' αἰεὶ χαλεπὸς τ' εἴη καὶ αἰσὺλα ῥέζοι.

Ὡς ἔτις μεμνηταὶ Οδυσσεὺς Δείοιο,

Λαῶν, οἷσιν ἀνάσσει, πατὴρ δ' ὥς ἡπίος ἦεν.

-----*To them arise**Mentor, the man of wisdom to whose care**His Prince, when summon'd to the Phrygian war,**Entrusted all, he prized; his Sire, his land,**Left to his counsel and his wise command.**The good of all he sought; to all a friend:**And list, he cried, and to my words attend.**Ne'er let a King hereafter from this day,**Be mild of manners, and of gentle sway:**But bold and lawless; and with high comptrol**Bend to his yoke the mean and abject soul.**Since he, who such parental kindness bore,**Is all forgotten, and his deeds no more.*

We have seen before, that this person, in whom Ulysses placed so much trust, was in reality a friend of the Poet, and his character and name

have out of gratitude been inserted in the Poem. He seems to have been of the same Country, as the venerable Egyptian above, and in wisdom not inferiour to him----ὅς μυρία ἤδη, who so much abounded in knowledge.

Note. Instead of πειθεσθαι τε γεροντι, I am induced by the context to read πεισεσθαι τε γεροντα----*to council and advise the old King.*

Nothing can place the character of Ulysses in a more pleasing light, than the love and confidence of his companions in their joint distresses; and particularly the melancholy joy, which they express upon any unexpected preservation. Such was that, which Ulysses describes, when some of them were restored to their former shape, and first beheld their deliverer in the house of Circe.

¹ Εγνώσαν δὲ με κείνοι, εφυντ' ἐν χερσιν ἕκαστος.

Πασιν δ' ἱμεροεῖς ὑπέδν γοοῖς· ἀμφὶ δὲ δῶμα,

Σμερδαλέον κονάβιζεν· θεὰ δ' ἐλεαίρε καὶ αὐτή.

They knew me soon: and when they saw their Chief,

Gave way to loud and sadly pleasing grief.

The vaulted dome resounded, where we were:

E'en Circe drop'd a gentle pitying tear.

The remainder of his companions, when they find their chief, whom they deemed lost, return in safety, give way to the same pleasing emotions tinged with grief.

² Βῆν δ' ἵεναι ἐπὶ νηῖ θοῇ, καὶ θινὰ θαλάσσης,

Ἔυρον ἐπεῖτ' ἐπὶ νηὶ θοῇ ἐρηρὰς ἑταίρους

Οἰκτρ' ὀλοφύρομεντες, θαλερὸν κατὰ δαῖκρον χέοντες.

Now pensive to the ship my course I bore,

Where my sad friends were gathered on the shore.

¹ Odyss. K. v. 397.

² Odyss. K. v. 407.

*I found them all immers'd in bitter woe:
And their warm tears incessant seem'd to flow.*

He describes them, upon their first seeing him, as so many calves, pressing forwards towards their mothers, when they return from pasture.

-----¹ εδετι σηκοι

Ισχυσ', αλλ' αδινον μυκωμεναι αμφιθεσσι
Μητερας· ὡς ἔμε κεινοι, επει ιδον οφθαλμοισι,
Δακρυοεντες εχευντο. δοκησε δ' αρα σφισι θυμος
'Ως εμεν', ὡς ει πατριδ' ικοιατο, και πολλιν αυτων
Τρηχειης Ιθακης, ινα τ' ετραφεν, ηδ' εγενοντο.
Και μ' ολοφυρομενοι επεα πτεροεντα προσηυδων.
Σοι μεν νοσησαντι, Διοτρεφες, ὡς εχαρημεν,
'Ως ειτ' εις Ιθακην αφικοιμεθα πατριδα γαιαν.

*As, when the kine return at even home,
Their young, long sever'd, when they near them come,
Burst from their stalls, and while around they move,
With plaintive lowings testify their love.
So my best friends about me as they crowd,
Vent the warm transports of their hearts aloud.
Tears from each eye in sad memorial start,
And every soft affection melts the heart:
A mournful pleasing scene! Nor could they more,
Had they regain'd their much lov'd Country's shore.
Oh, honour'd Chief, they cry, midst all our woe
At thy return what happiness we know?
No greater pleasure could affect our mind,
Were we our long sought Ithaca to find,
And all those fond connexions left behind.*

}

The great object, to which in the midst of all their calamities they looked, was their Country Ithaca: and for this final gratification they were continually offering up their wishes. As the poem, I imagine, is in great measure fictitious; the Poet had many places of more eminence, and better circumstanced, to which he might have adjudged his Hero. For the account, which he gives of Ithaca, is by no means favourable. He describes it, as very uneven, and rough, and also barren: *τρηχέα, παιπαλοεσσα, κρानη, σείρα*: though there seems to have been one part to the west better situated, which he styles *ευδείας*. In the whole the island was small and of little repute, though made famous by the Poet. His reason for placing his Hero in this island was undoubtedly, because it was the true place of his own residence, and of his family. Hence this prejudice in favour of a place, which was of so little consequence, and to which, when he was long separated from it, all his views and wishes were directed. These views, and the sorrows, with which they are immediately accompanied come so immediately from the heart; and are described in a manner so affecting, that we may presume, they were not fictitious, but the genuine offspring of the Poet's breast. All, that is attributed to Ulysses, was first felt by Homer.

I believe, that there are few subjects for a picture more noble, and interesting, than some of those, which are exhibited by this much enduring man. Such is that in the fifth Book of the *Odyssæa*; when Hermes arrives at the grotto of Calypso. One might expect, that Ulysses would have been found engaged with the Goddess, and enjoying all the good things, which the island afforded. But he is described far away, and very differently affected.

¹ Οὐδ' ἄρ' Οδυσσηα μεγαλήτορα ενδον ετετμεν
 Αλλ' ὅγ' ἐπ' ακτης κλαιε καθημενος, ενθα παρος περ
 Δακρυσι και σοναχησι και αλγεσι θυμον ερεχθων
 Ποντον επ' ατρυγετον δερκεσκετο, δακρυα λειβων.

*The God approach'd the Grot but did not meet
 The wish'd for Hero in this blest retreat.
 He on the beach sat weeping day by day;
 With sighs, with tears, he wore his soul away.
 The vast unquiet Deep he sorrowing view'd,
 Still look'd, still wept, and every grief renew'd.*

When Calypso went out in search of him, she found him in the same situation.

² Τον δ' ἄρ' επ' ακτης ευρε καθημενον· εδε ποτ' οσσε
 Δακρυοφιν τερσοντο· κατειβετο δε γλυκυς αιων
 Νοσον οδυρομενω, επει εκετι ηνδανε Νυμφη.
 Αλλ' ητοι νυκτας μεν ιαυεσκεν και αναγκη
 Εν σπεσσι γλαφυροισι, παρ' εκ εθελων εθελεση
 Ηματα δ' εν πετρησι και ηιονεσσι καθιζων,
 Δακρυσι και σοναχησι και αλγεσι θυμον ερεχθων,
 Ποντον επ' ατρυγετον δερκεσκετο δακρυα λειβων.

*The Goddess hast' Ulysses to explore,
 And finds him pensive on the lonely shore.
 His eyes are fraught with tears, that endless flow,
 And all the sweets of life are lost in woe.
 To his fond view his friends and Country rise:
 But the stern Goddess all return denies.*

¹ Odyss. E. v. 81, &c.

² — Ibid. v. 151.

*Each irksome night her bed he's doom'd to share,
Averse, and griev'd, though not averse the Fair.
And when the dayspring comes, and night recedes,
Back to the rocks, and dreary cliffs he speeds.
In sighs and tears there wastes the tedious hours,
And on the boundless, troubled ocean pines.*

When the Goddess expresses her wonder, that he should wish to quit her for his wife, a person so inferior; and tells him of the dangers, which he was to encounter, he answers her in the fulness of his heart, and with that resignation, which true fortitude inspires.

¹ Ποτνια Θεα, μη μοι τοδε χωσο· οίδα και αυτος
Παντα μαλ', ενεκα σειο περιφρων Πηνελοπεια·
Ειδος ακιδνοτερη, μεγαθος τ' εις αντα ιδεσθαι,
'Η μεν γαρ βροτος εστι, συ δ' αθανατος και αγηρως.
Αλλα και ως εβελω και ελδομαι ηματα παντα,
Οικαδε τ' ελθεμεναι, και νοσιμον ημαρ ιδεσθαι.
Ει δ' αυ τις ραιησι Θεων ενι οιοπι ποντω,
Τλησομαι εν σθησσι εν εχων ταλαπενθεα θυμον.
Ηδη γαρ μαλα πολλ' επαθον, και πολλ' εμογησα
Κυμασι και πολεμω· μετα και τοδε τοισι γενεσθω.
*Let not, dread Goddess, thy resentment rise:
Too well I know, Penelope, the wife,
Is far beneath the bright celestial race,
In look, in stature, dignity, and grace.
Her humble charms can never vie with thine:
She a meer mortal: Thou a Pow'r divine.*

*Yet my fond daily wishes I renew,
 My much lov'd Consort, and my realm to view.
 And if some God should wreck me on the shore,
 I still will bear it, as I've born before.
 For much I've suffered, many a rueful day,
 In waves, and wanderings, and in bloody fray.
 And if aught more awaits a wretched man,
 Let the storm come: I'll bear it, as I can.*

A like account is given of Ulysses, and his detention by the God Proteus, when Menelaus is inquiring concerning the fate of his former friends.

¹ Τον δ' ἰδὼν ἐν νησὶ θαλερὸν κατὰ δακρυ χέοντα
 Νυμφῆς ἐν μεγάροισι Καλυψὲς, ἥ μιν ἀναγκή.
 Ἴσχει, ὅδ' ἔδυναται ἦν πατρίδα γαίαν ἱκεσθαι.

And yet this island Ithaca, notwithstanding all these tears, and fond wishes, was, as I have before mentioned, very inconsiderable. And it must have so appeared even to the Poet, however partial he may have been to the place: for he makes Menelaus tell Telemachus, that it was once his purpose, if he could upon his return have met with Ulysses, to have transported him and his family to a better situation.

² Καὶ μιν εἶπεν ἐλθόντα Φίλησεμεν ἐξόχον ἄλλων
 Ἀργείων, εἰ νῶϊν ὑπεὶρ ἅλα νοσὸν ἔδωκε.
 Νηυσὶ θοῇσι γενεσθαι Ὀλυμπίος εὐρυοπα Ζεὺς.
 Καὶ κεν οἱ Ἀργεῖ νασσά· πολλὴν, καὶ δώματ' ἐτευξά,
 Ἐξ Ἰθακῆς ἀγαγὼν συν κτήμασι, καὶ τεκεῖ ὦ,
 Καὶ πασσὶν λαοῖσ', ³ ἰδὼν πολλὴν ἐξαλαπαξας.

¹ Odyss. Δ. v. 556.

² ——— Ibid. Δ. v. 171, &c. &c.

³ So I venture to read instead of μίαν πολλήν.

Ulysses, or Homer in the character of that person, thinks it proper in the interview with Alcinous to make some apology for his attachment to a place so ignoble. This apology is very affecting, and affords a general view of his sufferings, and fortitude: and his great love for his friends and Country, which no calamities could abate. It is addressed to this King of the Phæacians, and described in a plaintive strain, with all the beauties of verse and harmony.

Ἴ Σοι δ' εἰμὰ κηδεὰ θυμὸς ἐπετραπέτο σονοέντα
 Εἰρεσθ', ὅφρ' ἐτι μάλλον ὀδυρομένος σοναχίζω.
 Τί πρῶτον, τί δ' ἔπειτα, τί δ' ὕστατον καταλέξω,
 Κηδὲ' ἐπεὶ μοι πολλὰ δόσαν Θεοὶ οὐραنيῶνες;
 Νυν δ' ὄνομα πρῶτον μυθήσομαι, ὅφρα καὶ ὑμεῖς
 Εἰδέτ', ἐγὼ δ' ἂν ἔπειτα Φυγῶν ὑπὸ νηλεῆς ἡμάρ
 Ὑμῖν ξείνος εἰω, καὶ ἀποπροθὶ δώματα ναιῶν.
 Εἰμ' Ὀδυσσεύς Λαερτιάδης, ὃς πάσι δολοῖσιν
 Ἀνθρώποισι μέλω, καὶ μὲν κλέος ἔρανον ἵκει.
 Ναιετάω δ' Ἰθάκην εὐδείελον, ἐν δ' ὄρος αὐτῇ
 Νηρίτον, εἰνοσιφυλλον, ἀριπρεπές· ἀμφὶ δὲ νησοὶ
 Πολλὰ ναιετάσσι, μάλα σχεδὸν ἀλλήλησι,
 Δελιχίον τε, Σάμη τε, καὶ ὕληεσσα Ζακύνθος.
 Αὐτὴ δὲ χθαμαλὴ πάνυ πέρτατ' εἰν ἀλὶ κεῖται
 Πρὸς ζῶφον, ² αὐτὰρ ἀνευθε πρὸς ἠῶτ' ἡλιοντε
 Τρηχεῖ, ἀλλ' ἀγαθὴ κερροτροφός· ὅτι ἐγώ γε
 Ὅς γαίης δυνάμει γλυκερωτέρον ἄλλο ἰδεσθαι.
 Ἡ μὲν μ' αὐτοῦ ἔρυκε Κάλυψ' ὁδὸν δια Θέων
 Ἐν σπέρσσι γλαφυροῖσι, λίλαιόμενῃ ποσσὶν εἶναι.

¹ Odyss. I. v. 12, &c.

² So I think, it should be corrected,—instead of αἰ δὲ τ' ἀνευθε with a parenthesis.—See the concluding chapter.

Ὡς δ' αὐτως Κίρκη κατερήτυεν ἐν μεγάροισιν,
 Αἰαία, δολοέσσα, λιλαιομένη πόσιν εἶναι.
 Ἀλλ' ἐμὸν ἔποτε θυμὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν ἐπειθον.
 Ὡς ἔδεν γλυκίον ἥς πατρίδος, ἔδε τοκῆων
 Γίνεται, εἴπερ καὶ τίς ἀποπροθὶ πόσινα οἶκον
 Γαίῃ ἐν ἀλλοδαπῇ ναίει ἀπ' ἀνέυθε τοκῆων.
 Εἰδ', ἄγε τοι καὶ νόστον ἐμὸν πολυκῆδε' ἐνίσπω,
 Ὅν μοι Ζεὺς ἐφείκεν ἀπὸ Τροίηςθεν ἰόντι.

He then begins his narration in a manner the most sublime——

Ἰλίοθεν με φέρων ἀνέμος Κικονέσσι πέλασσεν
 Ἰσμάρῳ----κ. τ. λ.

*Amid this joyous scene you long to know
 The unhappy series of a wanderer's woe;
 Remembrance sad! whose image to review
 Alas! must open all my wounds anew.
 And oh! what first, what last shall I relate,
 Of ills unnumber'd, sent by heav'n and fate?*

*And first my name permit me to disclose,
 That you may know the man of many woes.
 And, in my turn, when sever'd far away,
 That I may claim, in virtue of this day,
 For years to come, my sufferings at an end,
 The sacred title of a Guest and Friend.
 In me Ulysses view: no vulgar name;
 Long since for art and wisdom known to fame.*

1 There are many ideas comprehended in the Greek word ξένος, which make it very difficult to be rendered precisely in any other language.

*In Ithaca I hold my regal sway,
 An Isle all open to departing day.
 Here the high mountain Neritus is seen,
 Conspicuous far, and ever cloath'd with green.
 Next Same and Dulichium appear;
 And its high woods Zacynthus waves in air.
 Though steep and towering, Ithaca still lies
 All smooth and even to the western skies.
 But to the east afar the peasant's toil
 Meets with a rugged and unequal soil.
 Yet still, though rough and barren be the place,
 It boasts a noble and ingenuous race.
 Of all the lands beneath the realms of light
 No land's so pleasing to my partial sight.
 In vain Calypso still prolong'd my stay
 With sweet, reluctant, amorous delay.
 With all her charms as vainly Circe strove,
 Each art she temper'd to secure my love;
 But little could prevail: for all must own
 This pleasing truth to each sad wanderer known;
 Whatever comforts crown our distant lot,
 Our much lov'd Parents cannot be forgot.
 And plenteous though the board, and rich the cheer,
 Our long lost Country rises still more dear.*

*Hear then the woes, ordain'd by Jove's command,
 To wait my passage from the Trojan land.
 The rapid winds my fleet from Ilium bore
 To the Ciconian and Ismarian¹ shore.*

¹ These lines are altered from the translation of Mr. Pope, whom I should have been glad in every instance, to have copied, had it not sometimes deviated so very widely from the original.

Since I prepared the above, I have had more than once the happiness of conversing with the Hon^{ble}. Mr. FREDERICK NORTH, whose learning is only equalled by his laudable and extensive curiosity. By this he was led among other places, to visit the island of Ithaca; in which he was detained six months. He assures me that it is throughout hilly, just as Homer has described it: and to the east (προς ηω ηελιον) very abrupt, and uneven. But the direction of the island is not precisely east and west; but rather to the northwest and southeast. It is likewise narrow towards the middle: the two high extremes being joined by a kind of Isthmus.

Recapitulation.

From the evidence above afforded, I am led to believe, that the family of Homer, came from Egypt, and settled in Ithaca: and that this island probably gave birth to the Poet. An anonymous writer has favoured the world with a fine epigram, in which he differs from me, and at the same time puts a negative to the pretensions of every claimant.

Ἦ Οὐχὶ πᾶσαν Σμυρνης ἐλοχεύσατο θεῖον Ὅμηρον,

Οὐ Κολοφῶν, τραφερῆς ἀστρον Ἰονίης.

Οὐ Χίος, οὐκ Αἰγύπτου εὐσπορος, οὐ Κυπρίδ' ἄγνη,

Θυ νησὸς κρᾶναη Λαρτιάδαο πατρη.

Οὐκ Ἀργὸς Δαναοῖο, Κυκλωπεῖη τε Μυκηνή,

Οὐδὲ το Κεκροπίων ἀστυ παλαιόγονων.

Οὐ γὰρ ἐφ' ὅσον χθονὸς ἐργον, ἀπ' αἰθέρος ἀλλὰ ἔ' Μοῖσαι

Περμψαν, ἵν' ἡμερίοις δῶρα ποθεῖνα φερῇ.

• Epig. Græc. L. iv. P. 365. Ἀδισποτον. Edit. Steph.

From

From these verses, as well as from ¹ others upon the same subject, we may perceive, that many places laid claim to the Poet's birth : and that the pretensions of all were controverted. If any person should out of these many places pitch upon Egypt, as the country of his nativity, he might bring very plausible evidence to countenance his opinion. I have mentioned it, as my belief, that he was of a ² Milesian or Ionian family in Egypt, but born in Ithaca, from whence he was absent for a long season. In this interval he visited Egypt, where it is allowed by all the best writers, that he resided. This residence, I should imagine, was of no short duration, during which he improved himself in all the learning of the country, and obtained a confirmation of that particular history, upon which he founded his war of Troy. He appears to have been a great traveller, and engaged in many cruel adventures, and to have been wonderfully preserved. By these means he was for a long time separated from a beloved father, who still survived : also from his son, and dear ³ Penelope, whose virtues, he has recorded in his poems. He had visited the coast of Asia from the island Rhodes to Miletus and Ionia ; but was more particularly acquainted with the cities upon the Hellespont. After a long absence he returned to his country and friends, and amused himself with the treasure of knowledge, which he had acquired in different places. Here he at last underwent a great misfortune from a disorder in his eyes, which terminated in total blindness. This led him to divert his melancholy with music, and poetry, and to transpose the history which he had obtained both in Ithaca and Egypt, and new form it in honour of Greece. He was well fitted for this enterprise, for he had

¹ Ibid. Epigrams to the same purpose—Οὐ μὲν σὺ Κολοφωνα.—Χίος ἔφυς, ἢ Φημι——κ. τ. λ.

² Of the Ionians or Milesians in Egypt, see Herodotus, L. 2. C. 152, 154. P. 179.

³ Of this person there are many contradictory accounts, as may be seen in different writers—particularly Pausanias. L. 8. P. 684.

a most exalted, and comprehensive genius ; and his mind was fraught with a large portion of knowledge, acquired from different Countries, and by long observation. At the same time he had a wonderful ear for harmony ; and from the copiousness of his language could express himself in the most natural and easy manner, so that there was no sign of either art, or labour, in his compositions. The words flow spontaneously and with the greatest ease, as if he had been really inspired. They seem always to be most happily adapted to the subject, which they are made to describe ; and the collocation of the terms by it's justness, and propriety, adds to the energy both of the diction and sentiments, so that whatever he utters, has an immediate and wonderful effect. What therefore Alcinoüs says to Ulysses, may be justly applied to Homer.

¹ Σοι δ' ἐνὶ μὲν μορφῇ ἐπέων, ἐνὶ δὲ φρεσὶ εὐθλαί,

Μυθὸν δ' ὥς ὁ τ' αἰδοῦς ἐπισαµένως κατελέξας

Παντῶν Ἀργείων, σέο τ' αὐτὲ κήδεα λυγρὰ.

Throughout your tale in every part we find

Beauty and sense and harmony combined.

And, like a Bard experienc'd, you disclose

The Grecian labours and your own sad woes.

Farther evidence concerning the place of his birth.

When he had finished his poems, he seems to have gone over Hellas ; and rehearsed them in the different Provinces. After this, whether out of choice or necessity, is uncertain, he crossed the sea, and visited the

* Odyss. A. v. 366.

chief cities of the opposite coast. At this time he probably was quite blind. As the dialect, in which he wrote, was the Iönian, this made him particularly acceptable. One reason for his using this dialect might be, because of it's sweetness; and it's being particularly adapted to poetry. But, I believe, as I have before said, that he was originally of an Iönian family, which had resided in Egypt.

He therefore wrote in his native dialect: and this was the reason, which induced him to cross the sea, and visit those Cities, where this dialect was spoken. The people of those Cities reverse the history, and intimate, that he was born among them; and from thence went over to Hellas; but in their accounts they contradict one another. Upon this head I have written before; and have endeavoured to prove that he was not a native of any Asiatic City. Besides, the Author of his Life allows, that the knowledge of that history, upon which he founded his poems, was first obtained in Ithaca; undoubtedly from his parents, and relations. To this he added a great deal from his researches at Thebes, and Memphis. The people of Ithaca insisted, that his blindness came upon him, and was unhappily compleated in their island; and it is by all confessed, that he began his chief works in consequence of that misfortune. It is therefore reasonable to suppose, that these works commenced in that island; especially, as he certainly resided here and here received the first rudiments of the history. The Oracle given to the Emperour Adrian makes Ithaca the place of his birth: and Telemachus his father.

Ἴ. Ἀγνώσκον μ' εἶραι γενεήν, καὶ πατρίδα γαίαν,
 Ἀμβροσίῃ Σειρήνῃ; ἔδος δ' Ἰθακησίου εἴμι,
 Τηλεμάχου δὲ πατὴρ, καὶ Νέστορι Εὐκλείῃ
 Μητρί, ἣ μιν ἐτίκτε βροτῶν πολλοῦ πάνσοφον ἄλλων.

*The race, and happy region, would'st thou know,
 To which this man, this heavenly Bard, we owe?
 From Ithaca he came: his Parents were
 Telemachus, and Epicaste fair,
 Nestor's sage daughter. From this source we find
 The Poet rose, the wisest of mankind.*

Though this may have little weight as an oracle, yet it shews the opinion of the person, or persons, who sent the answer; and proves, that there was a tradition to this purpose. There is reason to think, that we should have found these traditions more numerous, and more precise, had not Ithaca been so ignoble. But the obscurity of the island brought a cloud upon the history: hence the original evidence, which existed, has been rendered dark, and imperfect; or else totally annihilated.

We have seen, that the people of Colophon among others, claimed the honour of the Poet's birth; yet a person of that city, notwithstanding his prejudices, will be found to give attestation to many things, which tend to make void this claim. At least he confirms the opinion of Homer's long residing in Ithaca. He likewise affords wonderful evidence in support of my conjectures, concerning the hidden purport of the two principal poems; and that the Poet in describing the sufferings of others has afforded a picture of his own adventures, and misfortunes. Lastly we shall find it intimated by this writer, that the Penelope of Ulysses was really

Ἴ. Homeri et Hesiodi Certamen. P. 2.

Homer's wife; from whence we may conclude, that Telemachus was his son, though by some represented as his father. And from these data we may farther infer, that those affecting interviews between these three persons after a long separation, which are so pathetically described in the *Odyſſea*, were in a great degree founded in truth. This intelligence is contained in some verses taken from the *Ερωτικά* of Hermefionax: which I do not remember to have ever ſeen quoted. He was a poet of early date, and of Colophon, and he is mentioned by Plutarch, and Pauſanias, as a writer of merit. The purport of the lines, though few, is of much conſequence.

Ἄυτος δ' ἔτος αἰδός, ὃν ἐκ Δίος αἶσα φυλάσσει,
 Ἦδισον πάντων Δαίμονα μουσπολῶν,
 Λεπτὴν γ' εἰς Ἰθάκην ἀνέτεινέτο Θεῖος Ὅμηρος
 Ὡδῆσιν· πινυτὴς εἰνεῖα Πηνελόπης,
 Ἦν διὰ πολλὰ πάθων ὀλίγην ἐσενάσσατο νῆσον,
 Πολλὸν ἀπ' εὐρείης λειπομένος πατρίδος.
 Ἐκλαίεν δ' Ἰκαρὸς τε γένος, καὶ δῆμον Ἀμυκλᾶς,
 Καὶ Σπάρτην, ἰδὼν ἄπτομένος πάθεων.

This great Poet, whose works are so providentially preserved, the divinely inspired Homer, of all bards the supreme, condescended to retire to the mean Island of Ithaca out of love to Penelope, with whose wisdom he was enamoured. After having undergone much upon her account, he took up his residence in that contracted spot, far removed from his own more extensive Country. His Poems afford a sad narrative of the house of Icarus, and it's calamities: also of those, of Amyclæ and Sparta: in all which he covertly alludes to his own sufferings and misfortunes.

¹ Hermefionactis Erotica, apud Athenæum. L. 13. P. 597.

These are very beautiful lines, as they stand in the original, in which the Author being of Colophon seems to intimate, that Homer was of that part of the world. Setting this aside, we have some very interesting intelligence afforded within a small compass. If then Penelope was not only of the same æra, as Homer, but the object of his affection, and as we may truly infer, his wife; and if his residence, if not his birth, was in Ithaca; lastly, if in the sufferings of the Hero we read the history of the Poet, that history from these evidences receives great light. Almost all the persons, who were the reputed friends of the Poet, and whose names out of gratitude he has inserted in his two poems, were of Ithaca, or some neighbouring region: Hence, of all the places, which laid claim to the birth of Homer, I am induced to give the preference to that island. Here Homer wrote, *ιδιωνάπτομενος παθῶν*—with a retrospect to his own life, and the calamities, which he had experienced.

The Conclusion.

My original purpose was to shew, that the expedition of the Grecians against Troy was a mere fiction, that no such armament ever took place: nor could any general confederacy, among the various and remote states of Greece have been made, especially in such early times. There is reason to think, that many of those states did not exist; or if any such were founded, still they were humble, and limited, and excepting by inroads and plunder, they kept up little correspondence with their neighbours. Among many other arguments, I have mentioned, that the magnitude of the armament renders it incredible. For it is found to be

superior to that, which was sent out many ages afterwards, when Greece was in the height of it's power, and engaged with a very formidable enemy, at a time, when their lives, and liberties, and all that could be dear to them, were in the utmost danger. I have likewise introduced the evidence of two persons of great consequence; Metrodorus of Lampfacus, and Anaxagoras of the same place, who was the preceptor of Socrates. They both lived in the region called afterwards Troas; and must have been acquainted with the opinion of the natives, and the history of the place. They both maintained that the Ilias was an allegory, and that no such war was carried on as described by Homer. Stefichorus, an ancient writer maintained the same to the last. Demetrius, so often mentioned by Strabo, was born at Scepsis, a place of repute and science, towards the bottom of Mount Ida; bordering upon the very scene of those great actions which are displayed in the Poem. But he never could discover the least vestige of Troy; nor devise where the city stood. Strabo was equally uncertain: for the natives could afford no intelligence; or if any was obtained, it proved inconsistent, and of little moment. Of these inconsistencies, and contradictions, many instances have been given; and the result of the whole has been, that both the place, and the history, with which it is connected, was a poetical apologue: whatever truth remained, was borrowed and transposed, being originally of another clime.

This investigation I more readily undertook, as it affords an excellent contrast with the sacred writings. The more we search into the very ancient records of Rome or Greece, the greater darkness and uncertainty ensue. None of them can stand the test of close examination. Upon a minute inspection all becomes dark and doubtful, and often inconsistent. But when we encounter the Sacred Volume, even in parts of far higher

¹ Στρεσιχορος—εν τη ὑστερον ᾠδῇ. Photius P. 431.

antiquity,

antiquity, the deeper we go, the greater treasure we find. The various parts are so consistent, that they afford mutual illustration; and the more earnestly we look, the greater light accrues, and consequently the greater satisfaction. So it has always appeared to me, who have looked diligently, and examined; and I trust, I have not been mistaken.

There is certainly a great deal of false, and unprofitable history transmitted to us; no person can be so hardy, as to deny it. And it must ever be of service to true knowledge to prune the Tree of science of its spurious and superfluous branches. Should what I have here written be true, I hope my word will be taken in things of more consequence.

A P P E N D I X.

*Farther Observations upon the lines quoted from Homer's
Odyssey. L. IX. v. 21, &c. &c.*

In the passage, to which I allude, Ulysses is made first of all to discover himself to Alcinoüs, by informing him of his name, and family. Εἰμ' Ὀδυσσεύς Λαερτιάδης. He then tells him the place of his habitation, and the islands in its vicinity.

Ναίεταω δ' Ἰθακὴν εὐδείελον, ἐν δ' ὄρος αὐτῇ
 Νηρίον, εἰνοσιφύλλον, ἀριπρεπές· ἀμφὶ δὲ νησαί·
 Πολλὰ ναιετάουσι· μάλα σχεδὸν ἀλλήλησι,
 Δελυχίον τε Σάμη τε, καὶ ὕληεσσα Ζακύνθος.

We are now brought to the affected part, in which there seems to be a corruption of the text: and this evil is of long standing, having been
 admitted

admitted into the text before the time of Strabo, or the Scholiasts. The Hero in describing his own island Ithaca is made to say,

Αυτὴ δὲ χθαμαλὴ πάνυ περτατὴ εἰν ἄλκι κείται
 Ἡρὸς ζοφόν (αἶ δὲ τ' ἀνευθεῖ πρὸς ἥω τ' ἡελιοντε)
 Τρηχεὶ· ἀλλ' ἀγαθὴ κερροτροφός· ὅτι ἐγώ γε,
 Ἦς γαίης δυνάμει γλυκερώτερον ἄλλο ἰδεσθαι.

Before I proceed to the chief object in view, I shall take notice of the Poet's words, when he describes the island as *χθαμαλὴ πάνυ περτατὴ*. The term *χθαμαλὴ* is interpreted by the Scholiast and Strabo, *low* and *depressed*.----*χθαμαλὴ γὰρ ἡ ταπεινὴ, καὶ χαμαλὴ*. Strabo L. 10. P. 697. The Scholiast asks very properly----*πῶς ἐν πάνυ περτατῇ; if it were low, how can it be styled very high?* But with due submission both to the Scholiast and Strabo, I do not think that they have precisely taken the Poet's meaning, who, if examined, will prove his best interpreter. He introduces the word *χθαμαλός* not merely as low, but to signify *plain* and *level*; in opposition to *τρηχεῖα*, which follows. Thus he speaks of two rocks; one of which was high with a sharp summit---*ὄξεια κορυφή*. The other though high was more level, and smooth---*τον δ' ἕτερον σκοπελὸν χθαμαλωτέρων*. Odyss. M. v. 73. and v. 101. Conformably to this Hesychius renders *χθαμαλός*---*ἰσός καὶ ὀμαλός*. Hence it is easy to answer the question of the Scholiast---*πῶς ἐν πάνυ περτατῇ;* for the highest ground may be smooth and level, and the lowest rough and uneven. High ground, when thus level and smooth is by our Navigators stiled table-land; of which there is a remarkable instance at the Cape of Good Hope, which gives name to the Bay. The Grecians called any eminence of this sort *Τραπεζα*. Such was this high ground, which the Poet styles *χθαμαλὴ πάνυ περτατὴ*.

As the Island Ithaca lay for the most part in a direction east and west, it was Homer's design to give a description of it, as it extended *προς ζοφον*, *to the west*, and afterwards to proceed to the other extremity—*προς ηω*, *towards the east*. But in the midst of this description a parenthesis has by mistake been formed, the most unfortunate, that ever was devised : and the text in consequence of it has been corrupted, to the ruin of the Poet's purpose. We are first told of the Island,

Αυτὴ δὲ χθαμαλὴ πανυπερτατὴ εἰν ἄλλι κεῖται

Προς ζοφον.—Then comes the parenthesis—

(αἱ δὲ τ' ἀνευθεὶ *προς ηω* τ' *ἡλιον τε*)

To these is added absolute, and without any connexion or support---

1 *Τρηχία* : which appears to be contrary to the Poet's meaning; and contrary to grammatical usage. But there is another circumstance, which requires consideration. The other Islands do not lie as represented to the east; but for the most part in a contrary direction: of which we may be certified by the best Geographers of old, and by Spon, Cellarius, and d'Anville of the Moderns. Dulichium was a very small island, and may not be precisely determined. But the two larger Zacynthus, and Same, called also Cephalenia, lay to the west, in a quite contrary situation to that supposed above. The present reading therefore cannot be true, and the original meaning of the Poet has been unwarrantably corrupted.

Therefore to establish the true reading, I shall take away the parenthesis, and proceed upon this principle; that the Poet intended in this passage to

1 The plain version is as follows :

Ithaca is situated in the sea with high table land to the west : (but the other islands lie to the east) rough. Some make a stop at the end of the first line, and read—*Προς ζοφον (αἱ δὲ τ' ἀνευθεὶ *προς ηω* τ' *ἡλιον τε*) Τρηχία.* *To the west, (but the other islands are to the east) rough.* Either way it seems to approach to nonsense.

give

give a short description of the Island as it lay east and west. And instead of the words---*αἱ δὲ τ' ἀνευθε*, I would read *αὐτὰρ ἀνευθε*, by which means the whole passage will be rendered intelligible, and at the same time consonant to the truth.

Αὐτὴ δὲ χθαμαλὴ πανυπερτάτῃ εἰν ἄλῃ κεῖται :

Πρὸς ζοφὸν· αὐτὰρ ἀνευθε πρὸς ἥω ἡλίου τς·

Τρηχεῖα.

The land lies high and smooth to the west, but apart to the east and rising sun very rough---He adds---Αλλ' ἀγαθὴ κροτοφός---yet however rough, it produces an excellent race of people.

Οὐ τι ἐγώ γε :

Ἡς γαίης δυναμὶ λυκρωτέρων ἄλλο ἰδεσθαι.

There is nothing in the whole world more acceptable and pleasing in my sight.

The poet in another place speaks of the Island as in general rugged, and unfit for riding :

Ἡ μὲν τοι τρηχεῖα, καὶ ὅτ' ἵππηλάτος ἐστίν.

Odyss. N. 242.

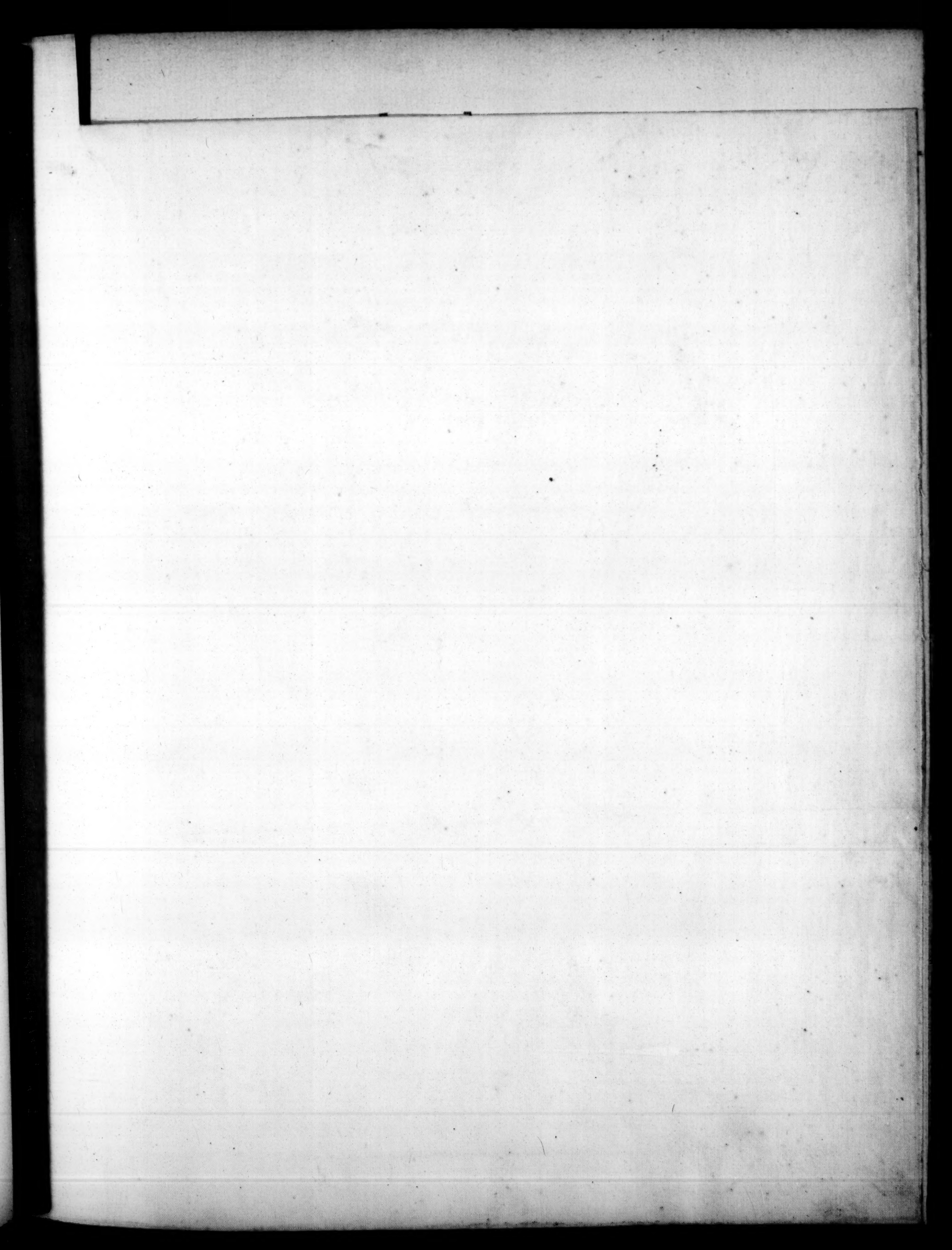
He styles it *κραναήν*, *παιπολοέσσαν*, *σειραν* :

1. ἀνευ, ἀνευθεν. χωρίς, δίχα. Hesych.

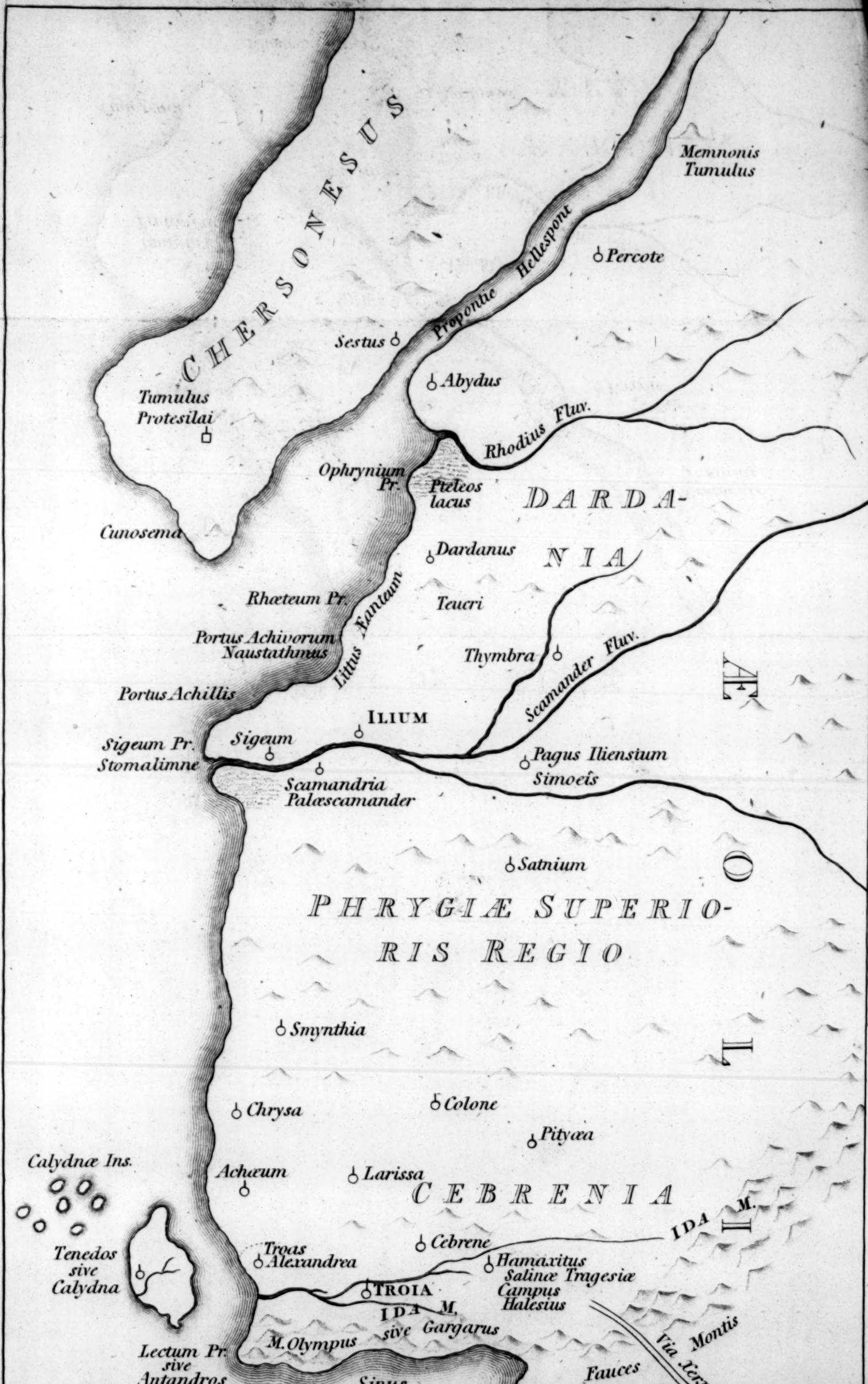
Νυν δὲ δὴ ἐγγυθὶ μοι θάνατος κακός, ἐδὲ τ' ἀνευθεν.

Ilias, X. 300.

Concerning



A MAP OF TROAS.



*Concerning the situation of Troy according to the idea of
Homer.*

Though the history of the Trojan war, as described by Homer, is a fable; and probably no such City ever existed in the region, where he has placed it; yet he formed in idea a scene of action, and that scene he diversified with a number of objects. These upon examination we shall find more precisely pointed out, than is usual in a fiction, and the Poet in general will appear very consistent. Yet notwithstanding this accuracy he has been often misunderstood, and his purpose mistaken. It may possibly be of service to those, who read him, and particularly to young Persons, to have some of these mistakes pointed out, and his meaning ascertained.

A wrong notion about the name Troy.

It shall therefore be my first endeavour to obviate a notion, which has sometimes obtained, that the name of Τροίη, Troy, in Homer, never relates to a City, but to the region called in later times Troas. For they say that the City was by most Geographers, and particularly by the natives styled Ilium. But this is a mistake in respect to the Poet: for there are numberless passages in the Ilias, which shew, that by the name of Troy the chief City was signified, and not the region adjacent.

Achilles early in the first Book tells Agamemnon, that his loss in Briseis should be amply repaid, whenever the Grecians took the City Troy.—

-----αικε ποτε Ζεϋς

Δωσι πολλιν Τροιν ευτειχσον εξαλαπαξαι. Α. 129.

Hector describes it as ευπυργος, *well fortified*,

Εισοκεν η υμεις Τροιν ευπυργον ελητε. Η. 71.

When Patroclus drives the Trojans before him it is said—

Ενθα κεν υψιπυλον Τροιν ελον υιες Αχαιων

Πατροκλος υπο χειρος. Η. 698.

Then would the Grecians have taken Troy with it's lofty gates through the prowees of Patroclus. The same is repeated upon the attack made by Achilles. Φ. 544. The terms, which the Poet here uses, ευπυργον, ευτειχσον, υψιπυλον, and which describe a place *well fortified with towers*, and *with goodly walls*, and *lofty gates*, cannot relate to a region, but manifestly denote a City so secured. Indeed the first quotation is sufficient to evince this, where Troy is expressly called, πολλιν Τροιν, *the City Troy*. It may therefore appear unnecessary to have said so much upon the subject: but as I have known the opinion blindly maintained, it seemed not amiss to give it a full confutation. Strabo certainly does make use of the word Troja for the region Troas; but that does not hinder it's being adapted to a City by the Poet.

Opinions concerning the situation of the Camp and City.

Homer places the Camp of the Grecians upon the Hellespont; and between the camp and city, which was inland, lay the Plain of Troy, the scene of all the heroic actions. The question therefore is, what are we to understand by the Hellespont? Herodotus supposes it to be that narrow pass towards the bottom of the Propontis, by which Europe was divided

vided from Asia: and that on the eastern side it reached from Lampſacus to Abydus. L. v. C. 117. P. 435. Other writers have been of the ſame opinion: Strabo particularly ſeems to favour it. L. 2. P. 186. and L. 13. P. 873.

But this narrow ſtrith at the mouth of the Propontis, was not above ſeven furlongs acroſs, and is ſaid by Mr. Wood, to be ſo like a river, that a perſon, who did not know the contrary, would from it's appearance, judge it to be nothing elſe. But the Hellespont of Homer was a part of the ſea, called by the Helladian Greeks Ægean: a name which ſeems not to have been known by the Greeks of Asia. He deſcribes it, as *wide, large, extenſive*, and even *boundleſs*; alſo as *foaming, boiſterous, dark, and ſtormy*.

Σημα δὲ οἱ χευσωσιν ἐπὶ πλάτει Ἑλλησποντῷ. H. 86.

-----ἐπὶ πλάτυν Ἑλλησποντον. P. 432.

-----πὰρ ἀγαρρον Ἑλλησποντον. M. 30.

-----Ἑλλησποντος ἀπειρων. Ω. 542.

Ἀκτὴ ἐπὶ προυχρῶσῃ, ἐπὶ πλάτει Ἑλλησποντῷ. Ω. 82.

In none of theſe inſtances did the Poet by the Hellespont, mean the Canal of Abydus, though it was by ſome writers taken in that acceptation. He would never have called the ſea *wide*, where it was moſt *narrow*, nor *large* and *boundleſs*, where it was moſt *contracted*. He always ſpeaks of it with a greater latitude, and deſcribes it as a portion of the ſea; hence it is often ſtyled by him, *ποντος, ἄλς, θαλαςσα*, terms inconfiſtent with a mere ſtrait or channel. It is true, that this ſtrait widens above, as people proceed upwards, quite to Lampſacus, which ſome make the ultimate of the Hellespont that way; and the Deity of that place is called Deus Helles-

pontiacus. But who ever placed Troy at Lampfacus or near it? The Hellespont of Homer was the upper part of the Ægean Sea; though he calls it not by that name. It bounded Mysia to the east, where stood the city Gargara, near Ida Gargarus. *Gargara sunt in Mysiâ, quæ est Hellesponti Provincia.* Macrobian. L. 5. C. 20. P. 362.

Farther Proofs.

In conformity to this, when people go and come, and affairs are transacted in the Grecian Camp, the whole is represented as carried on near the sea, and seashore. Thus when Chryses, the Priest of Apollo departs from the tent of Agamemnon, it is said of him,

Βῆ δ' ἄχρων παρὰ Διὶ πολυφλοισβοῖο θαλάσσης. A. 34.

He bent his way sorrowing by the shore of the hoarse resounding sea. In like manner, when the Heralds are sent after Briseïs to the tent of Achilles, they go by the strand, or seafide.

Τῷ δ' ἀέκοντε βᾶτην παρὰ Διὸς ἄλος ἀτρυγέτοιο. A. 327.

They went unwillingly along the seashore.

Achilles is afterwards described, as sitting in a melancholy state.

Θιὸν ἐφ' ἄλος πολλῆς, ὄρων ἐπὶ οἰνοπαῶντον. A. 350.

Upon the beach of the hoary sea, and poring on the darksome deep. The Ships of the Grecians are represented as drawn up---Διὸν ἐφ' ἄλος πολλῆς. Δ. 248. upon the same seashore. When after the fatigue of the day the other Grecians retire to their tents; Achilles lies down, and reposes upon the bare beach.

Πηλεΐδης δ' ἐπὶ θινὰ πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης
 Κεῖτο βαρυτεναχῶν πολεσὶν μετὰ Μυρμιδονέσσιν
 Ἐν καθαρῷ, ὅθι κυματ' ἐπ' ἡϊόνος κλυζέσκον· Ψ. 58.

He lay deeply moaning with his Myrmidons around him upon the shore of the boisterous sea, in a part clear of weeds, where the waves were continually beating.

Many other instances might be brought to prove, that the Hellespont of Homer was part of the sea. The very terms of which it is compounded (Ἑλλης ποντος) manifestly shew it. The terms also ἄλς, and θαλάσσα, by which it is often described, cannot be otherwise applied: especially when they are accompanied with the words πολίος, πολυφλοίσβος, ἀπειρών.

As both the City and the camp are by Homer thus uniformly described, as upon, or near, the sea, those Persons, who have placed them in this situation below Abydus, should have shewn that the Hellespont was here. Otherwise they appear in continual contradiction to the words of the Poet, if taken in their common acceptation. Yet I do not remember, that this was ever performed.

The situation of the City farther described.

Though many like Strabo have very properly brought the City somewhat lower down towards Ilium, and the Pagus Ilienſium, yet they do not make it answer to the idea of Homer. He places it at the most southern part of Mount Ida, called Lectum, Gargarus, and Antandros. It must therefore have been some few miles beyond the City, built afterwards by Antigonus, and called Antigonía, and Alexandria
 Troas;

Troas; which was upon the seacoast, and nearest to the mountain of any. To this part of the Ida, which is distinguished by the names above, the Poet often brings Jupiter, and other Deities; and from this eminence they looked down upon the City and Plain, and had a view of every thing, which was going forward. We have an instance to this purpose in the eighth book, where Jupiter is brought to Gargarus, and has a full view of the Camp and City.

Ιδὴν δ' ἵκανεν πολυπιδάκα, μητέρα Θήρων,

Γαργαρον· v. 48.

Αὐτος δ' ἐν κορυφῇ καθέζετο κυδαί γαίων,

Εἰσπορών Τρώων τε πόλιν, καὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν.

I have mentioned, that this part of Ida was also called Lectum: and hither Juno is represented as leading the God of sleep, in order to lull Jupiter to rest.

Ιδὴν δ' ἵκανον πολυπιδάκα, μητέρα Θήρων,

Λεκτον——ξ. v. 283.

Jupiter at last awakes, and looks down upon the field of battle; where he sees the Trojans put to flight; and Hector lying wounded upon the plain.

Ἐκτορα δ' ἐν πεδίῳ ἰδὲ κείμενον——θ. v. 8.

This place of prospect was a great way from the Propontic Hellespont, and Abydus, as we may learn from the best Geographers. The beginning of this narrow pass is by Pliny placed at the Promontory Trapeza, which he says was ¹ eighteen miles above Dardanus. *Impetum (forte initium) deinde sumit Hellespontus—Promontorium id appellavi-*

¹ It should probably be octo, eight, for Strabo makes the distance 70 stadia.—M. P. 8. $\frac{3}{4}$.: Antoninus speaks of it as nine miles complet.

mus Trapezam. Ab eo decem millia passuum Abydum oppidum, ubi angustiae septem stadiorum. L. 5. C. 32. p. 288. Now the distance from the Southern part of Ida must have been very considerable, as we may learn from the list of places afforded by Pliny, most of which lay between. He begins from the south, where was the passage through the mountain, by which armies passed, and the next place, that occurred, was Hamaxitus. ----*dein Cebrenia, ipsaque Troas, Antigoniam dicta, nunc Alexandria, Colonia Romanorum; Oppidum Nee; Scamander, amnis navigabilis; et in promontorio quondam Sigeum oppidum; dein Portus Achivorum, in quem influit Xanthus Simoenti junctus, stagnumque prius faciens Palæscamander.*—*Extra sinum sunt Rhætea littora, Rhæteo, Dardanio et Arisbe oppidis habitata*----*a Rhæteo Dardanium oppidum parvum, abest stadia 70. Inde 18 M. promontorium Trapeza, unde primum concitat se Hellepontus. L. v. C. 30. p. 282.* The order of places, as afforded by Herodotus, is much the same. He mentions Antandros, which stood at the foot of Ida, but beyond it to the south, and which Xerxes in his march did not visit, but passed it on his left hand. The next taken notice of upwards is the Regio Iliensium, Scamander, Ilium, Rhæteum, Ophryniū, Dardanus, Abydus. L. 7. C. 42. p. 530. Strabo gives the distances of some of these places, proceeding in a different course from north to south. p. 889. *Εἰτα πρὸς τὸν Ἀβυδὸν κ. τ. λ.* *After Abydus we meet with the promontory Dardanis* ---*and a City Dardanus, seventy stadia (nearly nine miles) below the former: and between them runs the river Rhodius.*---*Near to these is a place called Ophryniū, in which is a grove sacred to Hector upon an eminence, and a marshy spot called Pteleus. Next in order comes Rhæteum, where is a City, situated upon high ground; and hence a length of seacoast called Æanteum, where is to be seen the Tomb and Temple of Ajax.*----*After this we meet with the ruins of the City Sigeum; and the naval encampment of*
the

the Grecians: also a place called Stomalimna, where the Scamander has its outlet to the sea.---The length of the seacoast from the Rhætean Promontory to the Tomb of Achilles at Sigeum amounts in a strait line to sixty stadia: near seven miles and a half. He afterwards speaks of Chrysa, Larissa, Hamaxitus, and other places to the south near Lectum, and says, that they were all within view of Ilium. But it must have been a very distant view; for he describes it as εν διακοσίοις σταδίοις, η μικρῶ πλεονεσιν, about two hundred stadia, and perhaps a few more, which must be equal to twenty six miles. L. 13. p. 902. B. At the same time he mentions, that Abydus above was about the like distance, or rather less. Hence the whole interval from Abydus to the Cities above specified was about fifty Miles..

We have a particular account of the distances of some of the principal places in the Itinerary of Antoninus, p. 334..

Abydus

Dardanus MP. IX.

Ilium MP. XII.

Troas MP. XVI.

Antandros MP. XXXV.

Here it is proper to take notice, that the City Antandros stood towards the bottom of Ida, but on the southern side, contrary to Lectum, and Gargarus on the northern side, where the Gods are supposed to have taken their station. We are informed by the Itinerary, that the whole interval was seventy and two miles. Hence we may form some judgment of the distance of Abydus from Lectum, which was nearer.

Ptolemy affords us the latitudes of the chief places in this part of Phrygia in degrees and parts: but his account does not seem to have been accurately

accurately transmitted. Those, with which we are principally concerned, stand as follow. p. 135.

Abydus	μα.	δ.	41°.	15.
Ilium	μα.		41°.	0
Scamandri				
Ofia	μα.		41°.	0
Lectum	μ.	γ.	40°.	20

I have inserted Ilium 41°. though it is not introduced by Ptolemy till p. 137, where it is placed in the same degree of latitude, as the Scamander, near which it stood. The interval between Abydus and Lectum, if the numbers are true, is in extent fifty five minutes of a degree, or about 63 miles and a quarter. The distance cannot be precisely obtained from Antoninus, as he does not mention Lectum. It is however taken notice of by Strabo, who seems to make the interval much less; and in extent not above fifty miles; of which, he says, the city Ilium made nearly one half. This half lay—*εν διακοσίοις σταδίοις, η μικρω πλειον, within the compass of two hundred stadia, or somewhat more* (about 26 miles) from the city to Lectum. But from Ilium to Abydus was not quite so far---*μικρον εγγυτερω η Αβυδος.* Strabo L. 13. P. 902.

Let us then abide by the smaller distance, and form our judgment accordingly. When therefore the Poet brings his Deities to Lectum and Gargarus to see the scene of operation; that scene could not be near Abydus. And when Jupiter is described ---

Εισορων Τρωων τε πολιν και νηας Αχαιων,

neither the City, nor the Ships were fifty miles off. But why do I mention Abydus at the extremity of the region? Even the river Scamander, and Ilium seated near it, were at the distance of twenty six

X

miles,

miles, thus precisely stated by Strabo. At the same time the whole Country was divided by ridges of hills, which passed from the foot of Mount Ida to the sea and precluded any distant view. In short the Poet's intention was to place the Deities in a situation, where they could look down, and have an immediate and near view of the City, and plain, and all the process of war. This was impossible at the distance of twenty six miles, or even of ten. The Poet uniformly describes a near view; such as they had at other times from the beautiful hill Callicolone, which stood almost in the field of battle. To this there may be objected that the City Troy, according to the disposition above, not only could not have been near Abydus, but not even in the vicinity of the Simoeis or Scamander. It must have stood many miles to the south of these rivers, which makes the Poet appear quite inconsistent. I answer, most undoubtedly: and every Writer of a complicated fable will be always more or less inconsistent. If the City was near the Scamander, he should never have sent his Gods twenty six, or thirty, miles south to get a view of it. Or *vice versâ*, if he would bring his Jupiter to the eminence at Ida, he should have placed his City and the ships as many miles nearer, where they might be plainly seen. And indeed he did place them much nearer, as has been shewn.

But here we argue, as if the two rivers mentioned by Pliny, Ptolemy, and other Writers, were the real Simoeis, and Scamander; of which I much doubt. For this part of Phrygia, at the supposed æra of the Trojan war, was possessed by Thracians, by whom most of the places were denominated. Strabo L. 13. p. 883. But when afterwards the Æolian Colonies got possession of the Country, they added other names, and tried to make the *fitus locorum* correspond with the description given by the Poet. But this could never be uniformly effected; for the Writers

ters could never agree. Of this we may rest assured, that if the Hill Lectum was the place of prospect, the objects to be seen must have been near it. The Portus Achivorum, and the naval encampment, and the City above, could not have stood, where they have been placed by Pliny and Strabo; and where they have been vainly fought for by modern Travellers. Between the seacoast and Hamaxitus stood Troy, according to the description of the Poet. Hamaxitus itself was situated beneath Lectum, as we are informed by Strabo-----τῷ Λεκτῷ ὑποκειμένη συνεχὴς ἡ Ἀμαξιτός. L. 13. p. 901.

An Objection.

Here we may be asked, how it comes to pass, if this be the situation of Troy, that the two rivers so particularly mentioned in it's vicinity are not here to be found? To this I answer, that there may be such rivers, though not yet discovered, as these parts have not been properly visited. But whether there be any streams or not, cannot avail against the disposition of Troy above given; which is founded upon the evidence both of Homer, and Virgil. If there be any failing, they must answer it, for it does not belong to me to make good any deficiency. Dr. Pocock examined part of the Country about Troas, called now Eski-Stamboul. He went so far east as to arrive at some hot baths and salt springs: such as were known to have been in the Campus Halefius, and the Tragesiæ Salinæ. But he did not go sufficiently south, to make any discoveries in those parts. He however mentions a stream, called by the Natives Aychsu, which probably was an arm of some river. I have in my possession a Copy of a large Map of Troas, communicated some years ago by the

¹ The River Cilleus near Antandros. Strabo L. 13. P. 911.

ingenious Author of Balbeck and Palmyra. It contains an ample view of Troas, as it now appears: and there are to be seen several fountains and streams, which cross the Country eastward, and seem to be connected with some more notable river, by which they are carried in a different direction to the sea. Here perhaps may be one day found the Scamander of the Poet.

The evidence of Virgil concerning the Place of Troy.

To the arguments above let me add the authority of Virgil concerning the situation of this City. He places it within sight of Tenedos, and, as it is intimated, opposite to it. *Est in conspectu Tenedos*. From this Island the two serpents came, by which Laocoon and his sons were slain.

*Ecce autem gemini a Tenedo tranquilla per alta,
(Horresco referens) immensis orbibus, angues
Incumbunt pelago. L. 2. v. 203.*

The same history is given by Quintus Smyrnæus, but he calls the island, whence they came, Calydne. There was a cluster of Islands near Tenedos called Καλυδναι: hence this island had this name among others.

ἢν τε Καλυδνῆν

Λαοὶ κίκλησκουσιν, ἐσὼ ἅλας, ἀντία Τροίης. p. 46.

By which we find, that this Poet also places Tenedos opposite to Troy. Virgil likewise describes the City as directly under Antandros, which he represents as one of the summits of Ida. Here Æneas built his Ships---

*Classemque sub ipsâ
Antandro ac Phrygiæ molimur montibus Idæ.*

The

The City Antandros was in Myfia to the south of Ida. It stood inland and upon no particular eminence; but this was a summit of the mountain, and the region immediately below was called Antandria, and was near Hamaxitus and Neandria. Strabo L. 13. p. 903. The same Writer speaks of another eminence of Ida, which he styles Cylleus, and places it between Mount Gargara and Antandros---Ορος μεταξύ Γαργαριων και Αντανδρος. L. 13. p. 911. To this Hill (Antandros) Æneas seems to have retired with his Father, the night, when the City was burnt, and beneath the same he built his ships; at it was a part of Lectum, the nearest to the sea, and the most convenient for the constructing and launching of a fleet. Hence he says, that he built his ships---sub ipsâ Antandro; *close under* the Mountain,---*immediately* beneath it. All these circumstances prove plainly, where the City Troy is placed by Homer; and we may be assured, that it was not far from the Troas Alexandria built afterwards upon the coast, and not far from Hamaxitus towards the bottom of Ida. Hence it is, that the judgment of Paris is referred to this part of the mountain, which was from him called also Alexandria.—Αλεξανδρειαν, ὅπερ τὰς Θεὰς κριθῆναι φασιν ὑπὸ τῆ Παριδος. Strabo. L. 13. p. 904. All these places, which were reputed to have been in the vicinity of Troy, are far removed from the narrow pass of the supposed Hellespont; and many miles distant from Ilium, and the Pagus Iliensis below. The City Antandros beyond Adramyttium was still farther.

This lower part of Ida had many names as we have seen, and among these was Olympus, whither Jupiter, and other Deities betook themselves to have a view of the City and plain. This must be distinguished from the heavenly Olympus, where the Gods assembled in council,

Ζεὺς δὲ Θεῶν ἀγορὴν ποιήσατο τερπικεραυνός

Ἀκροτάτῃ κορυφῇ πολυδείραδος Οὐλυμποιο. Θ. v. 2.

As

As this latter eminence abounded with ridges and necks of land, one would imagine, that it was a hill upon earth. But we are informed, that it was not so; and the Poet very plainly shews the difference in several places, but particularly *Θ. v. 2. and v. 45.* Here Jupiter is represented as going from Olympus in heaven to Ida Gargarus.---His way lay *μεσσηγυς γαιης τε και ουρανου*---whence it appears, that they were widely separated. But this Ida Gargarus, the same as Lectum and Antandros, at least a neighbouring summit of the same mountain, had also the name of Olympus. There were several so called, and among these Strabo mentions one upon Ida near Antandria in Troas. *Ἐἰς λοφου (Ολυμπος) της Ιδης κατ' Αντανδριαν.*

Hither Menelaus was ordered to repair, and offer a sacrifice, before he left the Country ;

την κατ' Ιδαιαν χθονα

Ποιμνας Ολυμπου συναγαγων θυηπολει. Sophocles apud Strab. L. 12. p. 721.

The same Writer informs us, that this part of that southern ridge was indifferently called both Olympus and Ida. *Την τε Ιδην και τον Ολυμπον συγκεχυμενως πολλακις, ως το αυτο ορος, κτυπεσιν.* L. 10. p. 720. Here I must repeat my argument, that the City Troy was assigned by Homer to the most southern part of Troas. Here it was bounded by Mount Ida under different denominations, and separated from Adramyttium and Myfia below. With this part of Troas, and with this only, the chief articles in the history of Troy can be made to correspond.

Troy

Troy as represented by Homer.

I have mentioned it, as my opinion, that no such City as Troy in Phrygia ever existed, and for this I have given my reasons. But should any person be desirous to confute me, it will give me so little concern to be convinced, that I shall be glad to point out the only way, by which it can be effected. Whoever, as a Traveller, visits this part of the coast, which is bounded by the Archipelago, should confine himself to the particular spot, where Lectum and Antandros stood, and which seems to have been never explored. The Mountain here forms a promontory near Eski-Stamboul; which promontory is now called Cape Beboura according to D' Anville, but by others Cape Baba. This was formerly Lectum, and near it to the north are the ruins of ancient Troas Alexandria. Whoever will be at the pains to search towards the bottom of this mountain towards the east, beyond those stately ruins, may possibly obtain intelligence, with which the Greeks and Romans were not acquainted. Names of places, though liable to some alteration, yet survive for ages, and if any tradition of such a City remains, it is to be sought for here; for in this part of the region stood the Troy of Homer, and here only can it be looked for with any prospect of success. Though after all, the discovery of the City will never prove the certainty of the war.

Concerning

Concerning Hamaxitus.

It has been mentioned in a former Treatise as my opinion, that this City is alluded to by Homer, when he speaks of the flight of Hector, and the pursuit of Achilles.

Τειχεος αιν υπ' εκ κατ' αμαξιτον εσσευοντο. X. 148.

This article I shall take the liberty to consider again. It is generally supposed, that by the term αμαξιτος was signified a highway, where carriages passed—ὁδος αμαξηλατος. Schol. But to me it appears to signify the City of that name near Troy. Homer expresses the name Amaxitus without an aspirate; whereas all the Writers of Hellas uniformly prefix the spirit. But this omission is of little consequence: for the Cities of Troas were peopled by the Æolians from Cuma: and the whole region belonged to them, as we learn from Strabo. L. 13. p. 877. He says in consequence of it, that Troas and Æolis were the same, the one being a part of the other. Now the Æolians were remarkable for leaving out the aspirate. Æoles asperum semper vertunt in tenuem, quem ob id H. Stephanus Æolicum vocat, ipsosque Æolas ψιλωτικας. Jacobus Zuingerus de Dialectis. They pronounced ηλιος for ἥλιος, ημερα, for ἡμερα: consequently Αμαξιτος for Ἀμαξιτος.

The City Hamaxitus was the first place, that occurred to persons after they had got through that passage of Mount Ida, by which people passed upwards from Mysia and the southern regions, to Troas, and Ilium. It is the same through which Xerxes marched, as we learn from Herodotus. L. 7. C. 42. p. 530. Stephanus Byzantinus speaks of it as a small City. Ἀμαξιτος πολίχμιον της Τρωαδος. It is also mentioned

tioned by Pliny. Troadis primus locus Hamaxitus, dein Cebrenia, ipsaque Troas, nunc Alexandria; oppidum Nee (five Neandria) Vol. 1. L. 5. p. 282. The Poet's purpose in general was to give an account of the flight and death of Hector: and in the lines alluded to he describes the commencement of this flight, and it's direction in respect to Troy. The Trojans had been all driven into the City excepting Hector only. He took his stand before the Scæan gate, and there waited the approach of Achilles. But when he saw him advance—Σειῶν Πηλιάδα μέλιν κατὰ δεξιὸν ὤμων, his heart failed him: and he betook himself to flight. Why he did not retreat into the City, and how Achilles got between him and the wall, are circumstances not easy to be explained. That he fled is certain, and the first object, which he passed, was the Ερινεός, or wild figtree, which stood near the wall of the City. This is plain from the words of Andromache to Hector, who begs of him not to engage at a distance, but to marshal his troops near this tree, which was under the wall.

Λαὸν δὲ σῆσον πάρ' Ερινεόν, ἐνθα μαλιστα

Ἀμβάτος ἐστὶ πόλις, καὶ ἐπιδρομὸν ἐπλετο τεῖχος. Z. 433

This and the σκοπία or *place of prospect*, were the two first objects, which they passed. This flight could not have been in any road or highway, as may be seen from the nature of the place. For Troy is said to have had seven gates, from each of which we may presume, that a road passed into the Country. If any such were in his way, he must have crossed it. For if ever he had taken his course in it, he must have fled every step from the City: whereas his endeavour was to get to the wall and towers, but he was prevented by Achilles. If he ever took the contrary way, he left the City behind him; which cannot be supposed: for his flight throughout was Τεῖχος αἰὲν ὑπ' ἐκ, *all the way under the wall*.

Y

His

His Father and Friends beheld him, and were near enough to speak to him.

From these circumstances I am induced to believe, that by the words, κατ' ἀμαξιτον ἐσσεύοντο, was meant, that the two Heroes in their course went eastward, in a direction towards the next City. For that City, as has been shewn, stood under Ida Lectum; and, according to the Poet's description, Troy must have been in the like situation to the west; for the Hills of Ida in this part extended exactly east and west. The Scæan Gate, from which they set out, fronted the naval encampment and the sea. When therefore they left this, and had gone round some considerable part of the wall, they went in an eastward direction, and the City ¹ Hamaxitus fronted them. They came at last to some springs, which they passed, and one of them is said to have been hot, and covered with a thick vapour:

Ἡ μὲν γὰρ θ' ὕδατι λιάρῳ ῥεεῖ, ἀμφὶ δὲ καπνὸς
Γίνεται ἐξ αὐτῆς, ὥστε πυρὸς αἰθαμένοιο. X. 149.

Dr. Pocock, as has been shewn, found in his researches to the east of Troas such warm fountains together with baths and buildings, some of which seemed of great antiquity. Troy must have been, by the history given in the Ilias, but a few miles from Troas, which stood very near Lectum, but upon the sea. And as these hot springs are above it to the east, they may probably be some of those mentioned in the Hælian plain, and at the Tragesean fountains near Hamaxitus. The natural history of the Country agrees well with the situation of Troy, as described by Homer; and the vicinity of Hamaxitus to the east, countenances my notion, that it was the object alluded to by the Poet.

¹ In my former Treatise, styled Observations, I speak of Hamaxitus as not far from the Pagus Iliensium. But the interval was too great to admit of any such vicinity.

Τείχεος αἰεὶ ὑπ' ἐκ κατ' Ἀμαζιτὸν ἐσσεύοντο. He was all the time under the wall, but kept from it.

Another capital mistake.

Those, who have attempted to give an account of the naval station, and the camp of the Grecians have been farther mistaken by making the river Scamander the boundary to the right, and south. So it is represented in the Maps of Dacier, Pope, and Wood. And not only these later Writers, but all of old, who wrote upon the subject, have been in like manner deceived. Ptolemy places the naval station upon the Propontic Hellespont, with the river below to the right. Pliny and Strabo bring the camp and harbour lower down, but still they make the Scamander the boundary to the right. But Homer intimates very clearly, and repeatedly, that it was to the left, and served as a barrier to the north. Upon this account the wall of the Grecian rampart was lower here, than in other places, as the river was the chief defence. Here Ajax was quartered, and next to him were the Thessalians under Protesilaus; and after him Nestor and Idomeneus. Achilles was upon the right with his Myrmidons; and Ulysses in the center, that he might be more readily applied to on account of his great wisdom. When therefore Agamemnon had occasion to encourage the whole army, he took his stand upon the Ship of Ulysses, that he might be heard equally on each side.

Στῆ δ' ἐπ' Ὀδυσσεὺς μεγακῆτεϊ νηϊ μελαίνῃ,
 ἥ ρ' ἐν μεσσοτάτῳ ἐσκε, γεγωνέμεν ἀμφοτέρωθεν,
 ἡμὲν ἐπ' Αἴαντος κλισίης Τελαμωναῖδαν,
 ἡ δ' ἐπ' Ἀχιλλεύου· οἳ δ' ἐσχατὰ νηὸς εἶσας
 Εἰρυσταν, ἡγορή πρὸς οὐνοῖ, καὶ καρτεῖ χερσὶν. Θ. 222.

In this disposition, as described by the Poet, the Tents of Achilles are upon the right; and those of Ajax upon the left. That Ajax was in this situation is manifest from many passages in the Poem; where either he himself, or those Chieftans, who were nearest to him, are mentioned. When Menelaus wants his assistance, he is said to find him in this situation.

Τον δὲ μάλ' αἰψ' ἐνοήσε μάχης ἐπ' ἀριστερά πασῆς
Θαρσυνονθ' ἑταρῆς. P. 116.

He was at the very extreme part of the army upon the left, and there was animating his soldiers. When the Hero in a time of necessity is called away from his post here to the center, it is said, that Hector was not apprised of the slaughter there made; for he still kept on fighting upon the left, and upon the banks of the Scamander.

Ὡς ἐφεπε κλονέων πῆδον τότε Φαίδιμος Αἴας,
Δαΐζων ἵππους τε, καὶ ἀνέρας· οὐδὲ πῶ Ἑκτωρ
Πευθετ', ἐπεὶ ῥα μάχης ἐπ' ἀριστερά μαρνάτο πασῆς,
Οχθᾶς παρ' ὠπταμοῖο Σκαμανδρῆ, τῇ ῥα μαλιστα
Ἀνδρῶν πίπτε κάρηνα, βόη δ' ἀσβεστός ὀρώρει
Νέστορα τ' ἀμφι μέγαν, καὶ ἀρήϊον Ἰδομενεῖα. Λ. 495.

Upon the death of Patroclus, Menelaus wanted much to find Antilochus, as being the most proper person to carry the sad tidings to his friend Achilles; He looked, says the Poet—

Τονδὲ μάλ' αἰψ' ἐνοήσε μάχης ἐπ' ἀριστερά πασῆς.
Θαρσυνονθ' ἑταρῆς. P. 682.

He discovered him upon the left of the field of Battle, encouraging his soldiers. We have seen, that this left wing of the army was stationed on the banks of the Scamander, in the account before given of Hector, concerning whom

whom it is said, that he was fighting upon the Scamander and upon the left of the Grecian army ;

-----μαχης επ' αριστερα μαρνατο πασης

Οχθας παρ ποταμοιο Σκαμανδρ---Λ. 498.

Here was generally the stress of battle, for this part was nearer to the City according to the disposition of the Poet: and the Trojans do not appear willing to engage far to the right; because there was the station of a person, whom they did not choose to provoke—

-----επει παρα νηυσιν ανηρ ατος ποτολεμοιο

Μιμνε.

Achilles is represented as sensible of this, and therefore thought himself quite secure from any attack of the enemy, and accordingly says—

Αμφι δε τοι τη 'μη κλισιη και νηι' μελαινη

Έκτορα και μεμνωτα μαχης σχησεσθαι οϊω. I. 649.

I trust, that Hector however eager, will take care not to engage, where my ship and tent stand.

Whoever therefore places Achilles, upon the Scamander, and Ajax and his troops at a distance from it, is greatly mistaken. For such a station in respect to each of them is quite contrary to the design of the Poet. It is therefore in vain to look for the City or Ships in this situation. The whole is contrary to the plain evidence of Homer.

Of the Camp and Harbour.

The naval station of the Greeks is farther supposed to have been between the Rhætean and Sigean promontories. But as these landmarks are not mentioned by Homer, and the Grecian harbour is no where precisely stated, the opinions upon this article have been rendered very precarious. Some Writers have placed these headlands upon the Propontic Hellespont, and others lower down, according as fancy directed: and as the interval between them was in the several situations very different, they in consequence of it differed greatly about the extent of the Camp, which was bounded by these landmarks. Of this I have treated before, but I shall notwithstanding recapitulate some articles again. Mr. Wood thinks, that the Rhætean promontory was the same as Cape Barbieri, which is not less than ten miles from Cape Janizary; which he supposes to have been the Sigean. Strabo makes the distance sixty stadia, which amount to more than seven miles; Solinus represents it as forty stadia, or near five miles; Pliny makes it thirty, about three miles and an half. Thus they varied concerning the interval, because they had no certain boundaries, from which they could draw a line; for each determined the two extremes according to the system, which he had privately adopted. And in these their unsettled notions they all go contrary to the express words of the Poet, who tells us plainly that the Camp was narrow, and the people straitened.

Οὐδὲ γὰρ εὐρύς περ εὖν ἐδύνησατο πᾶσας

Λιγιάλος νῆας χαδεῖν, στείνοντο δὲ λαοί. Ε. 33.

For though the coast was comparatively wide and ample; yet it could not contain all the ships (in length,) and the Soldiers were in very close quarters.

That

That the Camp could not be of the extent supposed above, may be farther known from the situation of Agamemnon, when he stood in the center ship—*γεγωνεμεν αμφοτερωθεν*, *in order to call aloud to the army on each side*, and give them encouragement to do their duty. But if the extreme parts of the Camp were as remote, as has been represented, he must have called to little purpose. He was at far too great a distance to be heard. We find in the course of the poem messages carried, orders executed, and visits made in a short space of time. The army therefore, could not have been so widely extended.

When Nestor retires to his own Tent, and brings with him Machaon, who had been wounded, Achilles sees him plainly from the stern of his own ship, though he is not quite certain about the person who is with him.

Νεστορα δ' εκ πολεμοιο φερων Νηληϊαι ιπποι
 Ἰδρωσαι, ηγον δε Μαχαιωνα, ποιμενα λαων.
 Τον δε ιδων ενοησε ποδαρκης διος Αχιλλευσ,
 Εισηκει γαρ επι πρυμνη μεγακητει νηϊ,
 Εισορων τονον αιπυν. Α. 596.

Now the Ship and Tent of Nestor were as I have shewn, not a great deal nearer than those of Ajax upon the Scamander, which were the farthest of all. The distance according to some computations could not be less than eight or nine miles. But we may be certain from the Poet, that it could not be so many furlongs.

The Ship of Protefilaus was one of those upon the left, and farther than the ships of Nestor. Yet when Hector first sets it on fire, it is immediately seen by Achilles at the other extreme, and he accordingly orders Patroclus to arm—

Ορσεο,

Ορτεο, διογενες Πατροκλεις, ιπποκελευθε,

Λευσσω δη παρ νηυσι πυρος δηϊοιο ερων. II. 126.

He had before told him, that he could distinguish the voice of Hector amid the din, which prevailed;

----- (οψ) Έκτορος ανδροφονοιο

Τρωσι κελευοντος περιαγνυται. V. 77.

The shouts of that murderer break continually upon my ear.

Patroclus upon this puts on his armour; and an order is given for the Myrmidons to assemble. They accordingly arm themselves, and are encouraged by a speech from their Chief. He then takes a costly Goblet from a chest, which he fills with wine, and makes a solemn libation to Jupiter, and the whole is attended with a prayer of some length. And finally, after another speech, with which the troops are encouraged by Patroclus, they march forward, and fall upon the enemy, whom after a short dispute, they drive away. All this is performed, before the ship of Protefilaus was consumed, for it is said,

‘Ημιδαης δ’ αρα νηυς λιπετ’ αυτοθι.—H. 294...

One half of it remained.

The distance therefore could not be considerable: for the particular scene of action was within sight; and the voices of the Combatants to be distinguished, and their persons known. Had there been an interval, I will not say of eight or nine miles, but even of two, nay of one, Achilles would neither have seen nor heard, what he is said to have observed. And such was the previous process, that half the fleet must have been burnt, before any assistance came.

Position

Position of the Ships and Tents.

As the army was straitened for want of room (σεινοντο δε λαοι. Ξ. 28.) the tents in consequence of it did not extend in a whole line in front; but were of great depth: and their ships were drawn up after the same manner in different rows, one behind another. Before the ships at some distance was the rampart, and behind them towards the strand stood the tents. Most of their consultations were held before their ships, at, or near, the center of their foremost line. When Idæus, the Trojan Herald is sent to the camp, he is said to have found the Grecian Princes in council at the stern of Agamemnon's Ship.

Της δ' εὐρ' εἰν ἀγορῇ Δαναῶς, Θεραποντίας Ἀρης
 Νηὶ παρὰ πρυμνῇ Ἀγαμέμνονος. Η. 382.

Hence in the attack upon the fleet there is no mention made of the tents being invaded, or the wounded Chiefs molested. In the midst of the greatest confusion or danger, old Nestor was drinking and refreshing himself at his ease, though the rampart had for some time been forced; and the enemy was in the very front of the shipping. But he was at last alarmed. Hence it is said—

Νεστορα δ' ἐκ ἐλαθεν ἰαχῇ πίνοντα περ ἐμπης. Ξ. 1.

Had he been in the front of the navy, he would not have been so long unacquainted with the danger. He must have perceived the storm gradually approaching; and been informed from what he saw, and what he heard, as well as from the fugitives and wounded persons. It is manifest, that the ships were foremost, and were not drawn in one line, but in many, and consisted of several different files. The Poet, as we have seen,

Z

describes

describes the harbour as not sufficiently capacious for the whole navy fully extended—

Τῷ ῥα προκροσσας ερυσαν. Ξ. 35.

Therefore they drew them up in different files.

By προσσα is meant any thing parallel, like palisades; and προκροσσαι is explained by κλιμακῆδον, like *the rounds in a ladder*, which are all parallel. Several ladders put in juxtaposition afford by their parallel and equidistant rounds, a just resemblance of the disposition, in which the Ships were drawn up.

What has been said, may illustrate many circumstances in the course of the poem; and at the same time receive reciprocal confirmation from them. At the very time that Nestor was going through the shipping to the scene of action, he meets with several of the wounded Princes passing upwards the same way.

Νεστορι δὲ ξυμβληντο διοτρεφεες βασιλῆες

Παρ νηων ανιοντες, ὅσοι βεβληατο χαλκῳ,

Τυδειδης, Οδυσσευς τε, και Ατρειδης Αγαμεμνων. Ξ. 27.

We find, that the chiefs do not advance from the ships to the camp, but the contrary; for the ships were ranged before it for a barrier, just as the Gauls used to place their waggons for the same purpose. Before all was, at some distance, the rampart; and when this was once stormed, the next object was the navy, with their sterns foremost.

Ὡς Τρωες μεγαλη ιαχη κατα τειχος εβαινον,

Ἴππες δ' εισελασαντες επι πρυμνησι μαχοντο. Ο. 384.

When the Grecians retreat before Hector, they are said in their flight to turn their faces towards the ships——Εισωποι δ' εγενοντο νεων. Ο. 653;
among

among which they sheltered themselves. Here they were crowded among those which stood foremost, but got through, and fled in disorder ;

—περι δ' εσχεθον ακραι

Νηες, ὅσαι πρῶται εἰρύατο· τοὶ δ' ἐπεχυντο. O. 653.

Nestor upon this, intreats them to recollect themselves, and to return to the battle. They at last, are persuaded, and all unite against the foe, both those, who had sheltered themselves behind the ships, and those who were maintaining their ground before them.

Ἡμεν ὅσοι μετοπισθεν ἐφασσαν, εἰδ' ἐμαχοντο,

Ἡδ' ὅσοι παρ νηυσὶ μάχην ἐμαχοντο· βοηθῶν. O. 672.

I will mention one circumstance more, though farther proof may probably not be necessary. When Hector had at last driven the Greeks before him, and was preparing to burn the navy ; Ajax took his stand upon the ship, which was principally attacked, and called upon the people near him to exert themselves—

Αἰεὶ δὲ σμερδὸν βοῶων Δαναοῖσι κέλευε :

Νηυσὶ τε καὶ κλισίῃσιν ἀμυνεμεν—O. 687.

He called upon them incessantly with a tremendous voice to save the ships and the camp.

But the camp must have been in the enemies hands long before, if it stood in the front of the navy. The Trojans had for some time been in possession of all between the ships and the rampart. The Tents were therefore in the rear ; and the whole arrangement, as it has been above described.

Concerning the Grecian Ships.

It may not be amiss to say something concerning the form and size of their Ships; and some light may possibly be obtained from the following description—

Ἐκτὼρ δὲ πρυμνήθεν ἐπεὶ λαβὼν, ὄχι μέθει,
 Ἀφλάστον μετὰ χερσὶν ἔχων. *Ilias*. O. 716.

When Hector had laid hold of the Ship of Protefilaüs by the Aphlastus, or Tafferel at the stern, he never let it go. Now the Aphlastus was the highest part of the stern, and consequently of the whole Vessel. The Ship therefore could not in this part have been above six feet from the ground. For though we may suppose the person to have been of superiour stature; yet six feet upward is a great height for an horizontal extension of an arm, which is the best direction to have sure hold. Making this allowance, we cannot suppose the Ship to have been larger than an Hoy, or Cutter, of about forty or fifty tons.

Yet there are perhaps some articles, which may induce us to think, that they must have been larger. I have some pages above, supposed that there were about eighty five men to each Ship. But as the Ships are generally represented as a thousand, or somewhat more, in number, and the number of men is estimated as at least an hundred thousand, there must have been at an average an hundred men to a Ship. Indeed, there should be many more, if we allow the estimate afforded by the Poet; who says, that Grecian army exceeded that of the Trojans, as ten to one. B. 127. Now the Trojans were no less, than fifty thousand.

The

The words of the Poet must therefore be esteemed an hyperbole ; yet the excess is, I believe, always supposed to be double. If then there were an hundred to each Ship, those Ships must have been larger than I have supposed. The height of the stern has been stated, as rather low ; it is therefore probable, that what was wanting in depth, was made up in breadth ; otherwise it will be difficult to find room for the complement of men.



Of a seeming mistake in the Copies of Homer.

It has been for a long time a doubt with me, whether Σκαμανδρος, that well known river the Scamander, the name of which so often occurs in Homer, was originally so expressed by the Poet. It is to be found among other places M. v. 21 ; where he mentions----

Γρηνικος τε, και Αισητωος, διος τε Σκαμανδρος.

Now excepting in this word, and it's derivative Σκαμανδριος, we have, I believe, no instance in Homer of a short syllable being admitted before two mute consonants ; and scarcely in any Poet of authority. And where an instance may sometimes be found in the greek Tragedians, it generally proceeds from a mistaken reading, and may be corrected. It is therefore hardly credible, that Homer should take this liberty in one word only, and studiously avoid it elsewhere throughout his two poems : especially as the language, in which he wrote, afforded innumerable opportunities in other parts, of acting in the same manner. But the contrary was observed by him in all words of the same analogy ; which have always the preceding vowel long. This will appear in some degree from the following examples.----

Φαιην τε Σπαρτην τε, πολυτρηωνα τε Μεσσην

Αργος τε Σπαρτη τε, και ευρυαγυια Μυκηνη.

Την βα Σπερχειω ποταμω τρεφε.

Ριπην τε Στρατιην τε.

Σχοινον τε Σκωλον τε.

This rule and caution observed by the best poets, is to be found not only in proper names, but in nouns common, or appellatives, and likewise in verbs. Such are σαθμος, σπινθηρ, σποδος, στερνον, στιχες, στιλβω, στρατος, ποτολις,

πτωσσω,

πτωσσω, σκαίος, σκαζω, σκαπτω, πτωχος, σκαλιος, σκαησω. To these, numbers might be added, which are restrained to the same rule, and never admit a short syllable before them.

The Romans at first were not so scrupulous, for they sometimes allowed these liberties. Catullus accordingly introduces this very word Scamander at the end of a verse.

Testis erit magnis virtutibus unda Scamandri.

Nupt. Pel. et Thet. v. 357.

But in the age of Augustus the taste of the Romans was too much improved, and their ears too correct, to admit such a discord in harmony. No name was more obvious than this, or more necessary to be used by Virgil and Ovid, who treat so much about the war of Troy, and the scene of those heroic actions, with which it was accompanied. Yet they industriously avoid mentioning this name of the river; nor does it occur either in Propertius or Tibullus. They observed the like caution in respect to other words, of the same predicament, such as *stertit*, *spectat*, *sperat*, *spernit*, The terms---*maenia scandit*, *Marmora sculpsit*, *vulnere sternit*, *ad æthera spectat*, *munera spreuit*, though obvious, will hardly be found in good composition. Horace indeed makes no scruple to say---*sæpe stylum vertas*; and has many instances to the same purpose. But he wrote---*sermoni propiora*; and I believe, nothing of this sort will be found in any of his more poetical pieces.

There is indeed one well known instance in Virgil, which may be brought in opposition to what I maintain, and which occurs in the speech of King Latinus.

Spem siquam accitis Ætolum habuistis in armis,

Ponite---Spes sibi quisque; sed hanc quam angusta videtis.

Æn. xi. 307.

But

But here there is such a pause after the word *ponite*, as takes away all harshness, and makes the liberty allowable. In no other place does any such usage prevail, either in this Poet, or his Contemporaries. We shall never see an Hexameter conclude with *stabat*, or a Pentameter with *stetit*. The infinitive *stetisse* I believe never occurs either in the Heroic verse, or Elegy, of any classical writer. The verse in Homer, *Ilias* II. v. 857, where the words---*λιπεσ' ἀνδροτητα καὶ ἥβην*---occur, may seem an exception. But there are not here two mute consonants: and at the same time it is generally thought, that the true reading was---*ἀδροτητα*: as it is found X. 363. and Ω. 6.

The Grecians were very refined in their taste, and sometimes carried their delicacy to a degree of fastidiousness, even to their own prejudice. The Athenians in a time of necessity had a large loan offered them by one of their Citizens, but unfortunately he made use of the word *δανειω* for *δανειζω*, or *δανεισω*. This was esteemed so barbarous, that the whole Assembly was in a ferment, nor would they accept his offer, till he had corrected his mistake. Demetrius Poliorcetes incurred the like offence, when he took the City of Athens in a state of famine. He called an assembly, and offered the people in their distress one hundred thousand medimni of wheat, but was guilty of a like mistake in his address. The people were so offended, that they would not accept of his gratuity, though starving, till he had made an apology for his solecism. This delicacy prevailed more or less among the Grecians of all parts.

Hence it is extraordinary, that they should, contrary to all usage, countenance this one anomaly in composition, and allow, what the Romans rejected. The mistake was certainly sooner or later admitted, but it seems to have been only in this one instance, where the word Scamander occurs

occurs in Homer. Upon this account I am induced to think, that this reading arose from an error: and that the word was not originally so expressed by the Poet.

That there was such a river as the Scamander I make no doubt, and that it was so called by the Thracians of Bithynia, who were the first occupiers of the Country. But where it was precisely situated is very uncertain: and there is the like uncertainty, about many of the rivers mentioned by Homer. For though some Writers seem to have determined the Rhesus, Carefus, Heptaporus, and Rhodius; yet Pliny says, that they were not to be found. He, as well as Strabo, describes the Scamander as the main stream; and the Simoeis as an arm only, which ran into it; and the outlet was in the Ægean sea. But Ptolemy describes them as two distinct rivers; and their outlets at some distance from each other, and in the Propontic Hellespont. I mention this to shew the uncertainty of these histories: Still, wherever it may have been situated, such a river did exist: and it was called Σκάμανδρος, the Scamander, by the natives of old. But when the Æolian Colonies, some time before the birth of Homer, got possession of the Country, they changed it in conformity to their own idiom and dialect; and leaving out the leading consonant called it Καμάνδρος, or Camander. This omission was not unusual in the Greek language in general, as may be observed in many words, where the initial Sigma is sometimes expressed, and at other times omitted. Casaubon and other Writers have observed, that there was both σκαρδαμυσσω, and καρδαμυσσω; σμέρδω and μέρδω; Σμύρνη πόλις, and Μύρνη; Σμύρνη, the Amazon, and Μύρνη and Μυρινή; Σαρδρακοίτος, and Αρδρακοίτος; σμυς and μυς; σκεδαιω and κεδαιω. — Θεός δ' ἐκεδάσσειν Ἀχαιῆς. Homer. The Romans, who had a close connexion with the Æolians, observed this mode of expression in words copied from the Greeks.

A a

Hence

Hence for *σμυραϊνα* they wrote *muræna* : for *σφαλλω*, *fallo* : for *σφενδονη*, *funda* ; for *στεγω* *tego* ; for *σπερχω*, *pergo*.

The Æolians particularly of all the Grecians omitted this letter. They rendered the word *σμιλαξ*, *μιλαξ* : *σμικρος*, *μικρος* ; *σμυκτηρ*, *μυκτηρ* ; *σμαραγδος*, *μαραγδος* : *σφιν*, *φιν* : and the river *Σκαμανδρος*, ¹ *Καμανδρος*. These Æolians Homer particularly followed.

According to Eustathius the last term is a derivative from the verb *καμνειν* ; which if true would make the word *Καμανδρος* to be the original name. But this I do not believe. My opinion is, that the ancient name was Scamander, and so it is in general maintained. The Æolians only, who got possession of the particular part of Thracian Bithynia, esteemed Troas, changed it to Camander for the reasons above assigned. But as this was only the provincial mode of expressing the word, and but partially received, the Historians and other Writers, who did not follow this dialect, preserved the true name. Hence I imagine, that in latter times it was introduced by way of amendment into the poems of Homer. This was contrary to his purpose, and to the injury of his versification. For he rendered the name of the river, as the natives in his time expressed it. Many years afterwards the people of Hellas proper got possession of the Regio Ilienſis, and they followed the general usage, and called the river by it's original name, having no attachment to any Asiatic dialect. Hence it is found in their Historians ; and it is mentioned in verse by Euripides ; but still the preceding vowel is long.

Ψυχαι δὲ πολλὰι δι' ἐμ' ἐπὶ ² Σκαμανδριοῖς
Ροαῖσιν ἔθανον. Eurip. Helena. v. 52.

From these premises I am induced to think, that the abbreviated reading

¹ Caninius : also, Zuingerus, 46.

² We find the word *Σκαμανδρος* in Hesiod ; but I believe it to be as much a wrong reading in him as in Homer.

Καμανδρος

Καμανδρος Camander, was in the first copies of Homer : but it was altered by persons, who came afterwards, and who maintained the original pronounciation and orthography. This though in one respect proper, was in another view wrong, as there is reason to think that it was contrary to the purpose of the Poet.

I know of one Author only, in whom the word Καμανδρος, or Camander, is to be found, and the true metre preserved. This is Nonnus of Panopolis in Egypt, who in his Dionysiaca has the following verses.

Ὅια προθεσπιζων ποταμὸς περὶ χεῦμα Καμανδρῶ,
Φυλοπιν ἤμιτελεσον ἐπεσσομένην Ἀχιλῆϊ. L. 22. p. 392.

Again,

Οὐχ ἔτῳ ῥοὸς ἔσκεν ἐγερσιμοθόιο Καμανδρῶ. *ibid.* p. 402.

But this authority is made void in the two later Editions, where the word Σκαμανδρος is again introduced and the vowel before it made short contrary to all true prosody. Nonnus wrote forty eight Books, and not less than twenty thousand verses : and I do not believe in his whole process, that there is an instance of such a liberty.



TABLE OF CONTENTS.

Page

- 7 *C* Concerning Homer, and of his precision and excellence.
 8 *C* Circumstances in favour of his authenticity.
 ib. *T* These circumstances however not adequate.
 9 *N* No historical certainty antecedent to the Olympiads.
 10 *O* Observations on the grounds of the Trojan War.
 ib. *H* History of Helena fabulous.
 11 *I* Inferences from that history.
 ib. *O* Of the *ων* and *υπερων*.
 12 *F* Farther observations upon the War and Armament.
 13 *T* The confederacy of so many remote nations incredible.
 14 *T* There was in those times little intercourse between nation and nation.
 15 *I* It was an age of rapine and violence.
 16 *T* The people of Hellas barbarous, and in a state of misrule.
 17 *N* No connexion or correspondence between the different districts.
 18 *C* Concerning the great number of Ships mentioned.
 19 *T* The armament far superiour to that in the Persian war.
 22 *N* No such distant expeditions in those early times.
 ib. *T* The Grecians seldom ventured beyond Delos.
 23 *T* The delay of nine years after landing at Troy incredible.
 24 *T* The Trojans not attacked, though far inferiour both in number and prowess.
 25 *S* Superiority of the Grecians both singly and collectively.

- 26 *Winter campaigns: state of shipping: no repairs: no recruits.*
- 27 *Not the least correspondence kept up with the mother Country.*
- 28 *No reciprocal intelligence in almost ten years.*
- 29 *Inferences made from the age of Helena.*
- 30 *Far older than Hecuba.*
- 31 *Her age stated.*
- 32 *Her lovers most of them must have been of the same age.*
- 33 *Their engagement in her favour not to be believed.*
- 34 *Of the Arcadian Shepherds turned mariners.*
- 35 *Of the foss and rampart.*
- 36 *The history of it's demolition absurd, and a fiction.*
- 39 *Concerning Troy. It's situation never could be determined.*
- 41 *The many contradictions in the history of it.*
- 42 *Arguments from the objects near it according to Strabo.*
- 43 *These objects do not correspond with those in Homer.*
- 51 *The name of Troy, and of Troas never of old known in the Country.*
- 52 *Corollary.*
- 53 *Observations concerning the Ilias and Odyssey.*
- ib. *Concerning the Poet and his Country.*
- 55 *Concerning the Muses in Egypt.*
- 56 *Of the Kings being called Ποιμενες λαων.*
- 57 *Of Homer's regard for Egypt, and the many references to that region.*
- 59 *Of Phantasia, Phanitis, and Daphne of Thebes.*
- 60 *Concerning the City Troy in Egypt.*
- 62 *Concerning a war of Troy in Egypt, and of Memnon the Ethiopian.*
- 64 *Ancient Traditions concerning the age of Homer, and æra of the war.*
- 65 *Persons, who treated of the war before Homer.*

- 65 *Of Daphne, Phantasia, Sisyphus Cous, Syagrius, and the woman Helena.*
- 66 *The Traditions differ about the most material articles.*
- 67 *They differ about Achilles, Agamemnon, Helena and Iphigenia.*
- 69 *Ascanius and Astyanax said by the natives to have reigned in Scepsis.*
- 71 *Inferences in consequence of these contradictions.*
- 72 *Homer's Gods of Phrygia not the true Deities of the Country.*
- 74 *The names of the Lycians, Thracians, and other barbarous nations rendered Grecian.*
- 75 *Many instances produced.*
- 76 *Farther considerations concerning names and Families.*
- 77 *Of the introduction of letters into Greece.*
- 79 *Of Agamemnon Ζεύς.*
- 82 *Of the Colony founded in Egypt by Menelaus.*
- 83 *The Preservation of the Heroes for near ten years incredible.*
- 85 *Recapitulation.*
- 86 *The opinion of some learned Persons concerning the war.*
- ib. *The opinion of Dio Chrysostome περι τῆς Ἰλίου με ἀλῶναι.*
- 87 *The opinion of Anaxagoras, that the whole was an allegory.*
- ib. *Metrodorus of Lampsacus thought it related to the Virtues and affections.*
- ib. *Both denied that the subject was a real war.*
- ib. *The Author of the Scholia upon Homer (L. γ. v. 74) supposes it to have related to a war of the Elements.*
- 88 *The judgment of Paris, which was the reputed cause of the war allowed to have been an allegory.*
- 89 *Athenæus mentions a person, who maintained it.*
- ib. *Metrodorus and Anaxagoras lived in the region called afterwards Troas.*
- 90 *Herodotus insisted, that Helena was never at Troy.*
- ib. *His contempt of this part of the history in the Ilias.*

ib. *Two Plays of Euripides founded upon this principle, that She never was at Troy.*

91 *Hestiaæ Alexandrina of Troas wrote concerning Troy, but could never find where it stood.*

ib. *Stesichorus denied that Helena was ever there.*

92 *Concerning the many settlements supposed to have been founded by the fugitives in various parts of the world.*

93 *In the history of these settlements numberless absurdities and contradictions*

94 *The impossibility shewn.*

95 *The peregrinations of Ulysses void of Truth.*

98 *The Corollary, in which some of the absurdities are displayed.*

99 *Concerning the many Heroes deified.*

100 *Of Sarpedon, Achilles, Hector, Helena, Calchas, Merion, Idomeneus, Philoctetes, Machaon and many others.*

ib. *Most of these Deities after all freebooters, and pirates.*

102 *The Story of Troy probably of Egyptian original.*

103 *The history of Homer, and it's uncertainty from Suidas.*

104 *Of the Life supposed to have been written by Herodotus.*

105 *The mistakes in that Life.*

107 *Homer a descendant of Melanopus and called Melasigenes.*

108 *Of his residence in Egypt and of his being reputed a Nilotic.*

109 *Of his silence concerning many Cities in Ionia.*

110 *Arguments to shew, that he was not of Asia.*

ib. *His accurate and particular account of Hellas.*

113 *Homer's history alluded to in his poems.*

ib. *He described himself under the character of Ulysses.*

ib. *He seems to have been a native of Hellas.*

114 *He experienced those labours and dangers which he describes.*

Pag.

- 117 *Well acquainted with the sea, and it's hardships.*
- 118 *Many instances afforded to this purpose.*
- 119 *A farther account of the Poet.*
- 121 *The different claims of Ithaca and Smyrna.*
- 123 *The people of Smyrna allow that he obtained his intelligence of the Trojan war from Ithaca.*
- 124 *His particular Friends, mentioned in the Odyssey, were of Ithaca, or the neighbouring region.*
- 125 *His poems probably written, where his best friends resided.*
- ib. *If he got his knowledge of the Trojan war in Ithaca, it is not probable, that he was a native of Smyrna.*
- ib. *Smyrna so near Troas, that if he had been born there, he would there have got his intelligence.*
- 126 *Account of Mentès, and of articles introduced in his poems.*
- 127 *Of the many references to Egypt, and authorities of his being there.*
- 128 *Said by some to have been born at Thebes in that region.*
- ib. *Said to have been the Son of Telemachus, and Nestor's daughter Polycaste.*
- 129 *Of the person called by Homer, Heros Ægyptius.*
- 130 *Inferences made from these accounts.*
- 133 *Of Mentor, the friend of Ulysses.*
- 136 *Under the sufferings of Ulysses the history of the Poet veiled.*
- ib. *In all these sufferings the love of his Country and Family predominant.*
- 137 *His wanderings and disasters most pathetically described.*
- 140 *Many instances afforded.*
- 143 *A recapitulation, and a short character of the Poet.*
- 144 *His family from Egypt, and settled in Ithaca.*
- ib. *Farther evidence concerning the place of his birth being Ithaca.*

Pag.

- 145 *This confirmed by an Oracle given to the Emperour Adrian.*
 148 *The wonderful evidence of the Poet Hermestionax, that in the sufferings of others he describes his own.*
 149 *Conclusion, where the evidence of Anaxagoras, Metrodorus, Stesichorus, Herodotus, Demetrius, &c. is recapitulated.*

F I N I S.

E R R A T A.

Pag.	1.	
13	28	For εσπομεθ' read εσπομεθ'
15	13	for ensanguened, read ensanguined.
25	16	for driveu, read driven.
29	14	for appearanee, read appearance.
87	21	after Hesychius a full stop.
88	27	for Poet, read Poets.
108	6	for Μελασιγενες, read Μελασιγενης.
109	26	Insert in the Notes, ' Eustathius in Dionys. v. 239.
111	12	for Purgamus, read Pergamus.
131	10	dele 3.
137	20	for hafts, read hastes.
148	13	for λεπτηνγ, read λεπτην γε.
149	13	for ιδιωνάπτομενος, read ιδιων άπτομενος.
150	2	for engagad, read engaged.
177	20	for computation, read computations.
186	5	for λιπασι, read λιπασ'.

